

ble, and this assumption weakens his understanding of Luke's parables. Further, D.'s meaning for "historical" is questionable. The Gospels were written primarily to strengthen Christians' faith. Parables may be tied to a historical past, but they still speak to the reader today. Whether D. is right to place so much confidence in M. D. Goulder and so little in J. Jeremias, only time will tell. Finally, his book is not without conjectures.

R. F. O'TOOLE, S.J.
Saint Louis University

A DICTIONARY OF GREEK ORTHODOXY. By Nicon D. Patrinos. New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984. Pp. 392. \$18.

The author is a native of the Byzantine city of Mistra, near Sparta, Greece, and studied theology, psychology, and sociology in Greece, Australia, and England. P. received a doctorate in philosophy from Oxford, taught philosophy and psychology at various colleges and universities, served as dean of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline, Mass., and headed the archdiocesan department of education. P. is one of the more prominent clergymen of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in the Americas.

The present dictionary is long overdue. P. has made a lasting contribution to the English-speaking Orthodox world with this handsome volume, to which Archbishop Iakovos contributes the foreword recommending it to the Orthodox congregations in the Americas. The dictionary has 531 entries, with a Greek-English index making it easy to use and a valuable tool to understand Orthodoxy. The entries are written in English, with Greek equivalents, and have cross references to related subjects. P. not only explains ecclesiastical terms but gives the Orthodox view on moral values and defines theological issues and terms from the

Orthodox perspective. He also offers valuable information on topics, saints, and personalities—where very little is available in English—and distinguishes between legendary and historical traditions in the development of the Greek Orthodox Church. The book is enhanced by E. G. Zournatzis' illustrations.

P. has produced an encyclopedia of Orthodox theology, church practice, symbolism, and faith, making it indispensable for the study of the Christian religion in general and of Orthodoxy in particular. I highly recommend this dictionary to the Orthodox and non-Orthodox, to the scholar and general reader, especially to libraries—academic and public—as a solid reference work on the Orthodox Christian Church.

GEORGE C. PAPADEMETRIOU
*Hellenic College/Holy Cross
 Greek Orthodox Seminary
 Brookline, Mass.*

THE DIVINE TRINITY. By David Brown. London: Duckworth, 1985. Pp. 315. £24.

The Divine Trinity is one of the best books written on the subject for quite some time, in spite of the fact that several have been written recently. Perhaps B.'s English background drives him to spend too much time distinguishing between the notions of deism and theism, but even this section shows a mind working with complicated issues in an erudite manner.

In a hermeneutical sense, Betti would rejoice in the fact that B. disdains excessive historical relativism and instead insists that there are certain objective facts concerning history. Gadamer and Moltmann would not be pleased. B. has a well-established methodology; he uses it well in relating Christology to Trinitarian themes in Christianity. He is especially succinct in describing the relation of the Incarnation to the Trinity. In this respect

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praise. At the end of each of these chapters one finds a concise and helpful, four or five-part summary of the Psalms which have been discussed. Between five and ten Psalms are discussed in each of the chapters.

The author has succeeded in showing that the Psalms of the Old Testament are related to the Psalms of the New Testament. On eight different occasions, the author relates his discussion to specific passages from the New Testament. These eight New Testament passages are quoted and intended as aids in praying these New Testament Psalms. The two indices at the end of the book refer the reader to biblical passages and authors cited.

Craghan's discussion is carefully made. His footnotes at the bottom of almost every page refer the reader interested in more technical discussions to appropriate sources. The book shows that the ancient prayers can become our prayers today. Scholars, clergy, and lay persons will benefit from this book.

Kenneth M. Craig, Jr.
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

Volume 31, No. 1-2, 1986

A Guide to the Music of the Eastern Orthodox Church. By N. Lungu, G. Costea, and I. Croitoru. Trans. and ed. by Nicholas K. Apostola. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984. \$15.00, paper.

Eastern chant (Byzantine music) is the interpretative hymn-music of the troparia of the Greek Orthodox Church. Rendered by a system of eight Modes or Tones (four Authentic and four Plagal), Eastern chant follows a notational system of signs classified as ekphonic semiography.

This very important work, warmly welcomed by this author, is of monumental nature: There is no other book of the same calibre in the English language.

A Guide was born as a consequence of the efforts of a Romanian priest and teacher, Father Nicholas K. Apostola, who had the vision to perceive the need for such a book on the theory of Eastern chant in English. This book is an accurate translation of the original Romanian edition. It is worthy of note that the original book was supported

by Patriarch Justinian and the Synod of the Romanian Church: Through the “desire of His Beatitude Patriarch Justinian to uniformize the Romanian ecclesiastical melodies through the composition of uniform ecclesiastical melodies, the Holy Synod established a commission of reknown professors of both psaltic and linear music to proceed first to systematize—through a grammar book more in-depth and complete than previous ones—the precise theoretical rules which would permit the uniform execution of the melodies and after that to begin on uniform manuals of church hymns” (p. x).

The *Guide* is divided into thirty-six sections. It is a musical theory book on Byzantine music using Western linear notation effectively to explain the intricate sign language. Each section systematically and carefully explains the tapestry of musical theory which falls under the umbrella of Eastern chant. The final section on psaltic orthography assists the musician in mastering the rules of musical composition.

This text is a very important and much needed foundational tool for the student interested in learning the theory of Eastern chant. It is not earmarked for the general public; the student of music with a strong background in Western linear notation will profit especially from this work.

A note of caution to the reader: At the heart of Eastern chant is the stylistic ephos, ethos, and phronema of the Eastern, Greek-speaking world of the Byzantine Empire. The accurate and proper rendering of the hymns of the Greek Orthodox Church must reflect this. This is why a music teacher is so valuable.

At long last, a clear, concise, readable, understandable work in plain English comes to us through the efforts of Father Nicholas Apostola, who deserves heartiest congratulations for this substantial “beginning.”

Nicholas A. Kastanas
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

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one finds almost every paragraph lamentable).

The appendices attached to the book are excellent. They provide very simple explanations of the major heresies of the early Church, giving the reader inexperienced in theological readings a handy reference list and some notion of what it is that the Church's dogmatic formulations were structured to oppose. The summaries of the contributions of the Fathers are a bit limited, but are nonetheless useful.

This is a particularly important book at a time when theological learning is at a crisis. Many of our Orthodox theological thinkers have actually succumbed to strange doctrines—if sincerely—simply because we do not have many systematic theologies of a strictly Orthodox kind and because we are so bombarded by thoughts foreign to Orthodoxy in a religiously pluralistic society. Finally, Father Michael and Father Seraphim have given a wonderful little volume to help us in correctly formulating an Orthodox theological view, replete with all of the classical qualities of good Orthodoxy: humility, moderation, and circumspection. I hope that we are all able to receive this book with personal attributes to match these spiritual qualities.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
Etna, California

An Explorer of Realms of Art, Life, and Thought: A Survey of the Works of Philosopher and Theologian Constantine Cavarnos. Belmont, MA: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1985. Pp. 184.

This beautifully bound and printed book is a rare one—and one long needed and desired by many. It is a book about one of the most outstanding and distinguished Greek-American scholars of the last three decades by an equally eminent scholar and friend of the former: a book by Professor John Rexine about Professor Constantine Cavarnos. It is striking that both of these men were outstanding Harvard students, both *magna cum laude* at the baccalaureate level, both having earned their doctorates at Harvard, and both having distinguished themselves as Fulbright scholars. It is also worthy of note that both are trained in traditional, non-theological fields (Cavarnos in philosophy and Rexine in the Classics), in which they have published widely, and yet have earned solid reputations as theologians. This last fact, I might note parenthetically, has prompted the directors of the Center of Traditionalist Studies, an eminent board of scholars on which both

of these men serve, to elect them as recipients, in the spring of 1986, of the Center's Licentiate in Orthodox Theological Studies *honoris causa*, an honor bestowed on only one other person in the five-year history of the Center.

This book is essentially a compendium of the works of Dr. Cavarinos, containing reviews of his major publications (which include, to date, an astounding thirty-four books, countless articles, and numerous reviews). The importance of this book is that it fills a need: that of guiding the student or scholar in investigating the voluminous writings of this prolific man of letters. I have myself experience great frustration in trying to compile a collection of Cavarinos' writings, since, like those of Father Georges Florovsky, they are extraordinarily diverse and appear in literally a dozen different journals, in the case of articles, and cover a wide array of subjects, with regard to books. As a solution to this problem of searching out materials, Dr. Rexine has brought together materials under four major sections: philosophical works; works on Orthodox Christian art, life, and thought; and volumes on modern Orthodox saints. A very useful bibliography of Cavarinos' writings appears in the back of the book (p. 163).

I heartily recommend this book to anyone who knows Cavarinos' work. It is an essential reference tool. As for those who do not know all of the writings of this scholar, the book is a proverbial "must." As I have noted, the book is handsome. It is flawed only by a few typographical errors. As a tribute to a man who has excelled in letters, who has published important and celebrated volumes in both Greek and English, and who has stood firm in his dedication to the faith and culture of his Greek heritage, all Orthodox and all Greek-Americans should especially treasure this book.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
Etna, California

The Deification of Man: St. Gregory Palamas and the Orthodox Tradition. By Georgios I. Mantzaridis. Trans. from the Greek by Liadain Sherrard. Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984. Pp. 137. Paper.

The present work by Professor Mantzaridis was originally published in Greek in 1963. I read the original text many years ago as

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†Archimandrite Theocharis Chronis (1928-1987)

FATHER CHRONIS, AN ADJUNCT INSTRUCTOR AT HELLENIC College, was born in Kastri, Peloponnesos, Greece where he received his primary and secondary education. He subsequently attended the University of Athens School of Theology from which he graduated in 1952. He served in the Greek army where he preached weekly on the Armed Forces Radio (1964 to 1966) and later traveled extensively throughout Greece as a lay preacher.

In 1966 he recieved a scholarship from the French government to study at the university in Strasbourg from which he received his doctorate. He was ordained a priest by Metropolitan Meletios of Paris, France. Later, he was given the title of "Archimandrite."

Father Chronis served the churches in Strasbourg and Briesgau, West Germany before he moved to the United States. Here, he served several Greek Orthodox parishes including parishes in Illinois and Wisconsin. While serving Dekalb, Illinois he earned a Masters Degree in Social Science from the University of Chicago.

When transferred to Massachusetts where he served as pastor in Webster and Somerville, he became an adjunct assistant professor at Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology and taught until 1983.

He is survived by his parents, Lambros and Maria Chronis in Greece, and three brothers.

Father Theocharis was a longtime member and served as secretary of the Orthodox Theological Society in America.

He will be remembered as a delightful person, an excellent pastor and preacher, and a devoted priest. Those who knew him valued his friendship greatly, feeling their lives spiritually enriched.

May his memory be eternal.

George C. Papademetriou
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

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Contemporary Traditionalist Orthodox Thought. By Bishop Chrysostomos, Hieromonk Auxentios, and Archimandrite Akakios. Etna, CA.: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1986. Pp. vi + 93. Paperbound, \$5.00.

The Old Calendar Church of Greece. By Bishop Chrysostomos, Hieromonk Ambrosios, and Hieromonk Auxentios. Etna, CA.: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1986. Pp. iii + 110. Paperbound, \$5.00.

Contemporary Traditionalist Orthodox Thought, without the present revisions, was first published as a book under the title *Contemporary Eastern Orthodox Thought: The Traditionalist Voice* by Nordland House Publishers of Belmont, Massachusetts in 1982. It is good to have it available again in a convenient paperback edition. It is a small book with valuable information and discussion for those who would like to know the essence of the Orthodox view in a truly comparative fashion. Bishop Chrysostomos stresses that "Orthodoxy must be seen in terms of its own priorities and traditions" and "to compare the unique Eastern view of the mysteries with the separate Western view of the sacraments is a far more fruitful and appropriate approach" (p. v) than simply to speak of Orthodox mysteries by way of reference to Western sacraments. This gives some idea of the tone of the book.

Most of the essays in this volume have been published in journals prior to their appearance in book form. "Notes on the Nature of God, the Cosmos, and *Novus Homo*: An Eastern Orthodox Perspective" appeared in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 21.3 (1976); "History and Politics of the Byzantine Church: Some Historiographical Perspectives" appeared in *Kleronomia* 3.2 (1976); "A Comparative Treatment of Scripture and Tradition in the Orthodox East and the Catholic and Protestant West" in *Diakonia* 16.3 (1981); "Dom David Knowles on Hesychasm: A Palamite Rejoinder" in *Kleronomia* 8.1 (1976); "St. Gregory Palamas on the Hesychasts" in *Diakonia* 15.3 (1980); "Some Thoughtful Comments on Orthodox Meditation" in *Diakonia* 14.2 (1979); but not the final two essays by Bishop Chrysostomos on "Cultural *Paradosis* and Orthodox America" and "Orthodoxy and the Cults."

There is a plan of organization to the eight essays that is intended to permit the reader to confront a variety of issues in Orthodox thought

from the point of view of Orthodox traditionalism, while at the same time pointing up the weaknesses of a referential approach. In the first essay the reader is shown the distinct categories of thought and goals of Eastern Orthodox Christianity. These include how the Orthodox view man, the world, salvation, and God in a way that is different from Western Christianity and distinctly Orthodox. The second essay enables the reader to retrace some of the historiographical prejudices that led Western scholars to lose knowledge of the Christian East. The third essay shows the sharp contrast between Eastern and Western views on Scripture and tradition (*Sola Scriptura* for the Protestants; the *magisterium* or infallible authority of the Church for the Roman Catholics). The fourth and fifth essays try to summarize the problem of referential approaches to Eastern Orthodox thought, especially as applied to the Western misunderstanding of the Hesychast tradition. In speaking of Saint Gregory Palamas, Bishop Chrysostomos observes quite acutely that, "The Hesychast is . . . unified with God, not by seeking something outside of himself or by taking the mind away from the body, but by placing the mind within the depths of the body, within the heart. In so doing, in confining the mind within itself, the hesychast becomes, ironically, an incorporeal being" (p. 57).

In the sixth essay Bishop Chrysostomos and Archimandrite Akakios offer a sharp critique of James Counelis' article on "Twelve Festal Meditations" from *Diakonia* 11.1 (1976) and use it as the basis for an admonition to Orthodox Americans of the inaccurate and limited understanding that results from seeing the Church in Western categories and outside the spiritual milieu of traditional Orthodoxy, while the seventh essay stresses that Orthodoxy possesses a spiritual and a social cultural ethos. The final essay by Bishop Chrysostomos is a strong rejection of the imposition of Western standards on Eastern Orthodoxy as a means of attaining any rational understanding of her witness and authority. In answer to Western critics, Bishop Chrysostomos appropriately cites Professor Constantine Cavarnos' remark that "our true ultimate end as Christians is *theosis*, deification, union with God. For this is why Christ became man, taught, suffered, was crucified, and rose from the dead—to show us by his words and deeds the way to *theosis*" (p. 87).

Contemporary Traditionalist Orthodox Thought is exceptionally rich in Orthodox content and firmly based on scriptural and patristic sources. The essays can be profitably read separately or together.

They are very clearly written and unusually well organized. They make for a superb collection of thoughtful essays.

The Old Calendar Church of Greece is an exact reprint of a volume issued in 1985 and reviewed in this journal (30.1, Spring 1985, pp. 86-87) at the time of its original publication. Only the Prologue by Metropolitan Cyprian has been replaced by a new prologue by Hieromonk Auxentios. The second printing is a clear indication that such a book about the Old Calendar Church was needed to provide English readers with a helpful account of the genesis of the Old Calendar movement, its characteristics as an historical and religious phenomenon, its past history and its current status, and particularly its relation to the Orthodox world of today.

Though *The Old Calendar Church of Greece* has produced some controversy in certain circles, it has also elicited fruitful discussion that will enable Orthodox Christians to get to know each other better.

Both books deserve careful reading.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

On the Divine Liturgy: Orthodox Homilies, Volume One. By Augustinos N. Kantiotes, Bishop of Florina. Trans. with a Foreword by Asterios Gerostergios. Belmont, MA.: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1986. Pp. 280. Cloth, \$13.95.

Father Asterios Gerostergios (Ph.D., Boston University), author of *St. Photios the Great* (1980) and *Justinian the Great, The Emperor and Saint* (1982), has performed an act of Christian love. He has faithfully translated the *Orthodox Homilies* of the Bishop of Florina into English on the occasion of that hierarch's fiftieth anniversary as a clergyman and preacher of the Greek Orthodox Church. The original Greek work was published in Athens by the Orthodox Missionary Brotherhood 'Ο Σταυρὸς (*The Cross*) in 1977. This first volume, devoted to the Liturgy of the Catechumens, contains sixty homilies in language that can be understood by a layperson of any background with no prior theological knowledge. It is addressed to the Orthodox churchgoer who could profit from regular and systematic reflection on each part of the Divine Liturgy of Saint John. The author draws freely from Scripture, from the Church Fathers, from the history of

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Eastern Orthodoxy and Islam: An Historical Overview

ROBERT M. HADDAD

... there is none like [Constantinople] in the world except Baghdad, the great city of Islam. (Benjamin of Tudela, late twelfth century)¹

... there are two lordships, that of the Saracens and that of the Romans, which stand above all lordship on earth, and shine out like the two mighty beacons in the firmament. They ought, for this very reason alone, to be in contact and brotherhood and not, because we differ in our lives and habits and religion, remain alien in all ways to each other, and deprive themselves of correspondence . . . ²

THESE WORDS, written over a millennium ago by Nicholas I Mystikos, Patriarch of Constantinople, to the Caliph al-Muktafi (902-908), could serve as keynote to this symposium. I would, however, supplement the patriarch's call with the words of an Orthodox son of Antioch, authored but a few years ago:

Byzantium and Islam in the eighth and ninth centuries (and even beyond) seem almost to present the aspect of a single society whose two major segments, despite their overt mutual hostility, display prominent signs of cultural unity and often confront the discerning observer with a parallel religio-political evolution in which similar

¹ Marcus N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (London, 1907; reprint N.Y., n.d.), p. 12.

² R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink (trans.), *Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters* (Washington, D.C., 1973), p. 3.

questions are posed and strikingly similar answers given.³

In pursuing selectively the theme of mutuality of questions posed and answers given, it would be appropriate to begin with what is for each tradition the central event: God's supreme revelation to man. I need hardly remind the company here gathered that the true Islamic analogue to Christ is not Muḥammad but the Qur'ān, the divine word revealed by God to the Arabian Prophet. Muḥammad's role then is similar to that assigned by Christianity to the Virgin, the human agency through which the divine word was conveyed to man. The distance separating the personal logos of Christianity from the impersonal logos of Islam has appeared to virtually all Christians and Muslims unbridgeable. Yet even in this divergence we do not fail to detect convergence. For the word as person or as book raised a question of critical import: is this logos created or uncreated? And those in the Christian and Muslim mainstreams produced, though not without intense internal strife, precisely the same resounding reply: the logos—the arguments of Arians and Mu'tazila notwithstanding—is *uncreated*, existing from all eternity with God.

Then too the Christian concept of revelation as divinity incarnate and the Islamic concept of revelation as eternal decree carried a similar mandate for society: nothing less than the transformation of the profane into the sacred—and this, in the Christian East, with few of the pessimistic reservations voiced by Augustine and subsequently pervasive, if not dominant, in Latin Christianity. In the East, man had not fallen with a thud. Just as the incarnation, the descent of divinity into flesh—into the material order he had created—makes possible the sanctification of the whole material order, including those merely of flesh, so the *sharī'a*, the divine law of Islam, elaborated largely on the basis of the Qur'ān and the utterances of the Prophet, makes it possible to charge all human action with sacred significance, to transform life into a sacred ceremony. The logos of Islam, like the logos of Christianity, makes possible man's sanctification, that transformation known to Orthodox Christians as *theosis*.

Despite radically different historical beginnings, Orthodox Christianity and Islam (again in contrast to Latin Christendom) developed remarkably similar attitudes toward temporal authority, itself deemed susceptible to the sanctifying process made possible by the logos. True

³Robert M. Haddad, "Iconoclasts and Mu'tazila: the Politics of Anthropomorphism," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 27 (1982) 301-02.

it was that the Christian Church existed for over three hundred years under a non-Christian and generally unsympathetic political authority, during which time she developed her own organization, her own modes of internal governance and not a little of her fundamental doctrinal equipment. When, in the late fourth century, the Church officially captured the State (or, some might argue, was captured by the State), two highly developed structures were joined: the Roman state with its law, administration and political universalism to the Christian Church with her distinctive institutional arrangements and her *religious* universalism. To maintain that State and Church became one would be errant nonsense. Still, they *were* joined, particularly in the person of the emperor (one God, therefore one emperor, one empire, one Church) and the line of demarcation between them, between authority temporal and spiritual, while never erased, certainly blurred. That State and Church tended to shade, one into the other, did not simply represent conformity to pre-Christian practice and theory but, also, the Christian conviction that the incarnation dictated the baptism, the sacralization of all society—institutions as well as individuals. (For many, though not all, the incarnation dictated too the sacralization of profane knowledge, and to this central endeavor we shall return.)

In contrast to Christianity, Islam endured but the briefest period without political power. It is surely significant that the Muslim calendar commences not with the onset of the Qur'ānic revelation in the year 610 A.D. but with the emigration of the Prophet from hostile Mecca to welcoming Medina in 622, to Medina where Muḥammad, as religious and political leader, governed the nascent Muslim community as a religio-political entity. Many Muslims since have regarded as normative the unity of the temporal and spiritual spheres. But the notion, still current, that the Islamic community subsequently saw no *de facto* distinction between temporal and spiritual authority cannot withstand careful scrutiny. Within one hundred years of the Prophet's death in 632, Arab Muslim, not unmixed with Arab Christian, arms had won an empire extending from the Pyrenees in the West to and beyond the gates of India and China in the East. This explosive expansion gave rise to a development of the temporal authority that was inevitably more rapid than the emergence of the theocratic institutions implied by the Qur'ān and the Prophet's community at Medina. The *sharī'a*, the divine law, that would be one of the Muslim's salient means of sacralizing his and his community's life, was not to emerge fully until the mid-ninth century. The more or less

complete articulation of dogmatic theology, not to mention mysticism, came still later. Meanwhile the Sunnī caliphs, the successors to the Apostle of God, had to govern and so they did, but hardly on the basis of finely wrought theocratic institutions. Not surprisingly, in Islam as in Byzantium, the historical reality could but dimly reflect the pious norm which was itself, in part, spun out of an idealized view of selected historical facts.

The different evolutions of early Christianity and Islam notwithstanding, emperor and caliph enjoyed similar authority with regard to the military, the administration and even religious patronage—which is to say the appointment of bishops and *qādīs*. They also tended, not unnaturally, to view religious unity as a corollary to political unity, and this led them beyond their generally acknowledged mission to preserve the integrity of doctrine into the attempt to *define* doctrine. But almost from the time that Constantine yielded to the flaming vision of the Cross and, more than three hundred years later, when the caliphate was born, there existed in Christianity and Islam a tradition of opposition to “imperial” attempts to control doctrinal definition. One has but to read Eusebios’ “Oration on the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Emperor Constantine’s Succession” or Abū Yūsuf’s epistle to the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-809) to sense the only half-buried doubts of the man of religion in contemplating the awesome power of his sovereign—absolute in the temporal realm but possessing also an inexactly defined religious authority. Basically, Eusebios and Abū Yūsuf, in rhetoric similar and similarly charged with anxiety, aim at *persuading* Constantine and Hārūn of their duties as Christian and Muslim ruler respectively. This although Eusebios, in using such phrases as “For he who would bear the title of sovereign . . .” and “This is a sovereign who . . . ,”⁴ tends to be more circumspect than Abū Yūsuf with his characteristic “Do not . . .”⁵ But then Abū Yūsuf, unlike Eusebios, had been requested by his ruler to provide a “mirror for princes.”⁶ One wonders too whether the absence of any clearly defined and regularly

⁴ The text of Eusebios’ oration may be found in H. A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine: A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius’ Tricennial Orations* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 83-102; see especially pp. 89-90.

⁵ Abū Yūsuf Ya’qūb, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, trans. A. Ben Shemesh, Vol. 3 of *Taxation in Islam* (Leiden, 1969), pp. 35-39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

upheld law of succession in Byzantium and Sunnī Islam reflected not merely pagan Roman precedent but the religious idealization of the imperial dignity: the ruler's *piety* should loom larger than his paternity.

The critical episodes that determined, once and for all, the Orthodox Christian and Sunnī Muslim rulers' authority in definition of doctrine were the Iconoclastic and Mu'tazilī controversies. Certain emperors, in sponsoring Iconoclasm in the eighth and ninth centuries, and three caliphs of the second quarter of the ninth century, in pronouncing Mu'tazilī doctrine normative, clearly sought to establish the ruler's right to define doctrine on behalf of his community. Both controversies also shared an important doctrinal concern: I mean the legitimacy of an anthropomorphic depiction of divinity. The divinity of Jesus, held the iconoclast, could not be represented in the sheer anthropomorphism of the icon. The divinity of God, asserted the Mu'tazila, could not be represented by a literal rendering of the verbal anthropomorphisms of the Qur'ān. The resolution of these decisive struggles occurred at roughly the same time—in the 840s. And in roundly rejecting the maximalist religious claims of emperor and caliph, Orthodox Christianity and Sunnī Islam established the principle that the earthly arbiter of doctrine and practice can be nothing other than the consensus of believers, a consensus pronounced by those whom the believers acknowledge as their leaders, pronounced also and more subtly by time-sanctified practice and belief. In adherence to the principle that religious authority derives from the consensus of the confessing community, Orthodox Christianity and Sunnī Islam continue to stand as one.⁷ Nor am I convinced that the *de facto* situation differs greatly in Shī'ī Islam despite the special intercessory position accorded the *imāms* descended from the House of the Prophet.

Despite the Church's assertion of her independence of state dictation in matters as basic as definition of doctrine, the emperor continued to bear the title "Pontifex Maximus" (Supreme Magistrate), the same pre-Christian imperial title that would come to be arrogated by the popes in wake of the empire's collapse in the West and the ensuing political fragmentation in the sphere of Latin Christendom. The post-Iconoclastic emperors lost nothing of their theoretic authority over the army, administration or even over religious patronage. The wearer of the purple yet remained the icon of Christ on earth

⁷ On the affinities between the Iconoclast and Mu'tazilī controversies, see Haddad, *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 27 (1982) 287-305.

just as the considerably humbled post-Mu‘tazila caliph continued to reign as the shadow of God on earth. And both rulers would rationalize the gradual erosion of their *effective* political authority in much the same way. As the image of Christ on earth who should have enjoyed, but even within Orthodox Christian territory did not enjoy, universal political sway, the emperor (or the imperial spokesmen) advanced the theory of a “family of princes,” all of them subject ultimately to the *basileus* in Constantinople and deriving from him what legitimacy was theirs.⁸ It would appear that the eleventh-century Muslim thinker and apologist for the ‘Abbāsid caliphate, al-Māwardī, in conceiving the so-called “amirate by seizure,” sought similar justification for the existence of sundry Muslim rulers where there should have been one.⁹ In Islam too the usurpers were to be assimilated by resort to legal fictions analogous to those that obtained in kindred Byzantium. Both attempts failed even as the ideal of unitary political authority endured.

In the event, of course, Orthodox Christian political fortunes would pass from the Byzantines of the Second Rome to the Muscovites of the Third. In 867 the Ecumenical Patriarch Photios had, prematurely and with some exaggeration, celebrated the conversion of the Rhos and included their leaders within that “family of princes” forever subject to Christ’s icon in Constantinople. Photios announced that the erstwhile savage Russians, now won to Christianity, rested easily under the ecclesiastical authority of a Byzantine bishop as “subjects and friends” of the empire.¹⁰ In 1395 Anthony, Patriarch of Constantinople, wrote to the Grand Duke Basil of Moscow in defense of the tattered Byzantine imperial prerogative:

It is not a good thing, my son, for you to say “We have a Church but no Emperor.” It is not possible for Christians to have a Church without an Emperor, for the same imperial sovereignty and the Church form a single entity and they cannot be

⁸ Deno J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago, 1984), pp. 31-32.

⁹ ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, trans. as *Les status gouvernementaux* by E. Fagnan (Alger, 1915), see especially pp. 59-70.

¹⁰ David Knowles with Dimitri Obolensky, *The Middle Ages*, Vol. Two of *The Christian Centuries*, eds. Louis J. Rogier et al. (N.Y., 1968), p. 312.

separated from each other. . . .¹¹

The Muscovites were so well persuaded by Anthony's advocacy that we hear the Greek patriarch echoed by the Russian monk Filofei in his justly famous letter to Tsar Basil III assuring his temporal lord that:

. . . all the realms of the Christian faith have converged into your single realm. You are the only Christian tsar in all the world. . . . Two Romes have fallen, and the third stands, and a fourth there shall not be. Your Christian realm shall not pass under the rule of another.¹²

The two-headed eagle of Byzantium had made its passage north.

Similarly, al-Māwardī, for whom the caliphate "was established to replace the prophetic office (of which the Prophet had been the last representative) in defense of the faith and worldly interests,"¹³ formulated his "amīrate by seizure" in the hope of restoring the real authority of the 'Abbāsīd caliph, God's shadow in Baghdad. This was to be achieved by tying the vastly eroded effective authority of the caliphate to the military power of the apparently strongest "amīrate by seizure" or sultanate. Al-Māwardī's efforts would accomplish little but the legitimization of non-caliphal authority pending the metamorphosis of the most powerful "amīrate by seizure"—and this would prove to be the Ottoman sultanate—into the new caliphate. And, after all, why not? The Ottoman sultan did the duties of a Sunnī caliph within the boundaries of a considerable empire, just as the Muscovite prince came to perform those of *the* Orthodox Christian emperor. The Ottoman sultan, Sulaymān I (1520-1566), master of an empire stretching from central Europe to the Indian Ocean, took his title "Caliph on Earth" seriously enough to study personally Islamic jurisprudence and to assign the learned the task of bringing secular laws of state into conformity with the *sharī'a*.¹⁴

¹¹Quoted in George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 2nd ed., trans. Joan Hussey (Oxford, 1968), p. 553.

¹²George Vernadsky (ed.), *A Source Book for Russian History from Early Times to 1917*, Vol. 1 (New Haven, 1972), p. 156.

¹³al-Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, p. 5.

¹⁴Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: the Classical Age, 1300-1600*, trans. N. Itzkowitz and C. Imber (N.Y., 1973), p. 182.

Well, the empires are departed and with them, I think, the possibility of any unitary theocratic or quasi-theocratic society. And if I have dwelt upon them at length it is not only because emperor and caliph were central to Orthodox Christian and Muslim history until the modern age but because their disappearance has revealed them as hardly crucial to the survival and indeed the health of either religious community. I am myself no enthusiastic partisan of the wholly secularized nation-state for it is more than likely that universalist faiths were instituted by God in part to restrain the parochial excesses to which ethnicity (real or imagined), language and territoriality are prey. But few Americans—least of all members of the Orthodox Christian minority—can be oblivious of the blessings that secularized polity may confer upon a religiously pluralistic society. The nation-state, moreover, is apt to be our lot for the foreseeable future, and while the task of curbing the wild beast may have much to do with man's vision of transcendent authority, the effort to translate that vision into political structure is unlikely to be more successful now or later than it has been in the past. Perhaps that "Augustinian" pessimism over the earthly city, subdued but by no means absent in Orthodox Christianity and Islam, deserves therein a more honored place.

I remarked earlier in certain parallels between the logos doctrine in Orthodox Christianity and in Islam. Each faith clearly rests upon the bedrock of its revealed word but, just as obviously, each widened the scope of reason as a means of clarifying, even expanding, the truths of revelation. Some comments now about this process, for it seems to me that in ordering priorities between reason and revelation, Orthodox Christianity and Sunnī Islam underwent a comparable evolution in religious thought and sensibility.

At the advent of Islam, Hellenistic philosophy had already made substantial inroads into Eastern Christian theology—I mean here not only Orthodox or Chalcedonian Christianity but also the non-Chalcedonian or semitic Christianity represented by the Monophysites and Nestorians. It is to be emphasized that Islam found its post-Qur'ānic voice, phrased many of its characteristic definitions, in a Middle East which, west of Iran, remained heavily Christian—particularly *semitic* Christian—although yielding gradually and inexorably to the faith of the Arabian Prophet. It is to subtract nothing from the immensity of the intellectual and artistic achievement of the classical age of Islam to insist that Eastern Christendom posed many of the critical questions and provisioned the avid Muslims with much of the material and

disciplined discourse necessary to phrase distinctly Islamic answers to those questions. Withal, the early Islamic centuries comprise for Eastern Christians under Islamic rule a twilight zone, less an era of creativity—that could only be the prerogative of the politically dominant community—than an era of transmission. And what was transmitted to Muslims included much of the Hellenistic philosophy already adapted to the uses of patristic theology. The era of transmission would end with semitic Christianity spent but with many of its attitudes and adherents assimilated by Islam, a process of appropriation whose monumental impact on world history has yet to inspire the scholarly attention it merits. My satisfaction in the initiation of serious dialogue between Orthodox Christians and Muslims in the United States is, as you may suspect, diminished somewhat by our failure here to include representatives of semitic Christianity. For not only were the non-Chalcedonians the great transmitters to Islam but it may even be argued that Monophysite and Nestorian Christology, the former by de-emphasizing Christ's human nature and the latter particularly, by diminishing his divine nature, have something of a logical conclusion in Qur'ānic Christology. I exaggerate slightly but a Jesus whose human nature is submerged tends to become simply God and the incarnation recedes into the problematic, while a Jesus whose divinity is compromised tends to become simply man. It may be telling that the preferred Nestorian description, "Jesus, Son of Mary" (rather than "Son of God") is also the favored Qur'ānic designation for Jesus the Prophet. Islam was no mere bystander in the Christological controversies.

Let us be mindful then that Islam's earliest and most intimate contact with Eastern Christianity involved the non-Chalcedonian rather than the Chalcedonian churches. The eve of the Muslim conquests found most of Egypt and Syria Monophysite, and Mesopotamia largely Nestorian. The Arab tribes between Arabia and Byzantine Syria had adopted the Monophysite creed while those between the Peninsula and Iranian-controlled Mesopotamia had embraced Nestorianism. And, as I intimated earlier, evidence exists that some of these Arab Christian tribes joined their Muslim brothers in the conquests. For we are not to forget that many non-Chalcedonians viewed the Muslim advance as deliverance. The following testimony, although not contemporaneous, comes from the Coptic (Egyptian Monophysite) bishop, Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa':

. . . and [Muḥammad] brought back the worshippers of idols to the knowledge of the One God. . . . And the Lord abandoned the army of the Romans . . . as punishment for their corrupt faith, and because of the anathemas uttered against them, on account of the council of Chalcedon, by the ancient fathers.¹⁵

The Arab Muslim conquests, like the later Ottoman invasions, were prepared by schism within Christendom. And both Islamic surges answered eloquently the question: "How successful was Christianity in recementing 'Roman' society?"

The Syrian and Mesopotamian adherents of semitic Christianity were, in any event, the main channel for the transmission of Hellenistic philosophy and science to the Muslims. The intrusion of Greek philosophy now raised for Islam, as it had centuries before for Christianity, the problem of the appropriate relationship between revelation and reason or, stated differently, the degree to which profane knowledge could be sacralized. The way to resolution would be long and difficult but certainly by the thirteenth century Islam, like Orthodox Christianity, had reduced natural reason to near total subservience to revelation as an instrument for knowing God, an outcome signaled by the rise of Sufism and Hesychasm to pre-eminence in the theological and devotional life of Sunnī Islam and Orthodox Christianity respectively. Even a mere historian is aware that rational and mystical theology are not mutually exclusive so long as the former does not claim for itself comprehension of the whole truth independently of revelation and its complements, grace and illumination. But, however unfortunately, the struggle appeared to many of the central actors to have involved such a claim by the practitioners of rational theology. The most outspoken upholders of revelation, all too often sustained by a rather arid *kalām* in Sunnī Islam, and in Orthodox Christianity by what Father John Meyendorff has termed "the theology of repetition,"¹⁶ succeeded all too well in driving philosophy and, in its train, the sciences to the margin of intellectual concern. I am not asserting that philosophy and science simply died in

¹⁵Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa', *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, Arabic text ed. and trans. B. Evetts, *Patrologia Orientalis*, T. I (Paris, 1907), pp. 492-93.

¹⁶John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, trans. George Lawrence (Crestwood, N.Y., 1964), p. 238.

the East before the thirteenth century. These disciplines continued for a while to sway certain individuals in Orthodox Christianity and Sunnī Islam and endured, however modestly, in Shī'ī education into early modern times. In late thirteenth-century Byzantium, George Akropolites calculated and predicted the time of an eclipse of the sun,¹⁷ while the great Sunnī cosmologist, ibn al-Shāṭir (d. 1375/76),¹⁸ flourished in the fourteenth century. Not long before the fall of Constantinople, private schools in the city continued to dispense Aristotle¹⁹ while Sunnī Muslims of the period seem not to have been wholly bereft of the Doctor of Doctors.²⁰ The fact remains however that the sciences and their mistress, philosophy, found little place in the curriculum of the religious academies.²¹ And if we must name the salient figures in Orthodox Christian and Sunnī theology from the late medieval into the modern period, they would surely be Gregory Palamas (d. 1359) and al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) respectively, not, by way of contrast, Gregory's contemporary and antagonist, Barlaam the Calabrian, or al-Ghazālī's nemesis, ibn Rushd (d. 1198). Latin Christianity, on the other hand, while boasting its mystical theologians and practitioners, would have to indicate Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) as her characteristic theologian. And the Angelic Doctor would come to dominate the curriculum in the Western lands, among those "Franks" whom Orthodox Christians and Muslims would persist in deeming barbarous long after good sense might have suggested a more respectful attitude. Of the intellectual turn taken by Latin Christendom, ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) was aware. "We hear now," he wrote in the late fourteenth century,

¹⁷Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, p. 437.

¹⁸See Victor Roberts, "The Solar and Lunar Theory of Ibn ash-Shāṭir: A Pre-Copernican Model," *Isis*, 48 (1957) 428-32; E. S. Kennedy, "The Planetary Theory of Ibn al-Shāṭir," *Isis*, 50 (1959) 227-35.

¹⁹Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, p. 408.

²⁰"Philosophy, prohibited from being taught in public, was taught privately . . ." [George Makdisi, "Interaction between Islam and the West," *Medieval Education in Islam and the West*, eds. George Makdisi et al. (Paris, 1977), p. 297].

²¹On the situation in Sunnī Islam, see *ibid.*, pp. 296-97. Long before the fall of the Second Rome, the profane instruction available at the Imperial University had been kept distinct from the studies provided future clerics at the Patriarchal School (Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, p. 29).

that the philosophical sciences are greatly cultivated in [Western Europe] and along the adjacent northern shore of the country of the [Latin] Christians. They are said to be studied there again and to be taught in numerous classes. Existing systems of expositions of them are said to be comprehensive and the people who know them numerous and the students of them very many.²²

In ibn Khaldūn's own disregard of the philosophical sciences, we may detect the representative position of Sunnī Islam.

It should be known that the (opinion) the (philosophers) hold is wrong in all respects. . . . The problems of physics are of no importance for us in our religious affairs or our livelihoods. Therefore, we must leave them alone.²³

Meanwhile in Byzantium, ibn Khaldūn's contemporary, Demetrios Kydones (d. 1397/98), felt compelled to defend his interest in Aquinas and in the Latin theologian's use of Aristotle.²⁴

It may be true that a more knowing Orthodox Christianity and Islam, whose long experience of Greek philosophy perhaps induced immunity to its excesses, saw more clearly than freshly exposed Latin Christianity the danger to revelation implicit in a thoroughgoing Aristotelian victory. The syllogism as an absolute, a natural law wholly apprehensible to man's reason, would, in the hands of the nominalists, encourage the desacralization of knowledge and precisely that separation between faith and reason that Aquinas had labored to avoid. It may be argued, however, that if Thomas inadvertently established a foundation for the subsequent bifurcation of knowledge into distinct realms, sacred and profane, so, working from the opposite pole and also inadvertently, did al-Ghazālī and Palamas in insisting that logic and the sciences could add little to the knowledge of God imparted by revelation and illumination and are of themselves inadequate for imparting knowledge of beings and the created order. Knowledge of the Artisan is little to be furthered by knowledge of his art, and the tools for study of that art fell to rust and decay. In sum,

²²Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, Vol. 3 (N.Y., 1958), pp. 117-18.

²³Ibid., pp. 250-52.

²⁴Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, p. 378.

responsibility for the desacralization of knowledge cannot simply be laid at the Latin Christian door. While Latin Christianity plunged headlong into scholasticism, thence into a progressively desacralized understanding of nature and finally into a desacralized control over nature, the East, Christian and Muslim, contented itself with a syllabus that tended to deny the unity and sacred character of all knowledge, if only by relegating wide areas thereof to curricular oblivion. If the victory of natural reason over revelation was too pronounced in Latin Christendom, it must be insisted that the triumph of revelation over natural reason in the East was no less pronounced and certainly more thorough than either Palamas or al-Ghazālī intended. Palamas held, after all, that:

. . . if one says that philosophy, insofar as it is natural, is a gift of God, then one says true, without contradiction and without incurring the accusation that falls on those who abuse philosophy and pervert it to an unnatural end.²⁵

There is echo here of al-Ghazālī's argument, delivered some two hundred years earlier, that while nothing in logic, mathematics and the physical sciences "entails denial or affirmation of religious matters," the study of them may engender evil consequences.²⁶ Orthodox Christianity and Islam stand heirs to a less one-sided epistemology than that commonly attributed to Palamas and al-Ghazālī and some revival of it may be in order. It is clear in any case that if resacralization of knowledge is a problem, it should concern Orthodox Christians and Muslims no less than Latin Christians.

For an historian, at least, certain related issues continue to nag. The era the West terms "medieval" witnessed a contest among Latin Christendom, Orthodox or Greek Christendom and Islam—all three societies born of the Roman imperial collapse, all three claiming explicitly or implicitly to be the new Rome, the new Athens, the new Jerusalem, the authentic heir to Roman political universalism, Hellenistic high culture and the promise of the Hebrew prophets.

²⁵Gregory Palamas, *The Triads*, ed. John Meyendorff, trans. Nicholas Gendle (N.Y., 1983), p. 27; see also pp. 119-20, n. 27.

²⁶al-Ghazālī, *Freedom and Fulfillment: An Annotated Translation of al-Ghazālī's al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl and Other Relevant Works of al-Ghazālī* by Richard J. McCarthy (Boston, 1980), pp. 73-76.

A dispassionate observer, say from China, contemplating this tripartite medieval world early in the second Christian millennium, would likely have declined to predict a Latin Christian victory. In the arts of civilization, the Orthodox Christian and Islamic worlds would have struck our hypothetical observer as so much richer and more powerful than the lately beleaguered agrarian world of Latin Christendom that he could scarcely have predicted the death of Byzantium in the fifteenth century and the erosion of Islamic intellectual vitality well before the great recession of Islamic political power initiated around the mid-seventeenth century. One wonders: did Latin Christendom emerge from the medieval contest, poised for seizure of global hegemony, because of its greater fidelity to Athens?

I do not wish to expose myself to charges of crass historicism—least of all from my immemorial friend, Seyyed Hossein Nasr—when I observe that the crucial decisions concerning Aristotle, reason and revelation were made in a Byzantine and Muslim world sorely beset by nomadic expansion—specifically that of the Turkomens—and in a Latin Christendom which, by contrast, found itself for the first time in centuries free of external threat. Is the conviction that reason leads us to God as surely as revelation, as surely as the mystic's illumination, apt to have greatest appeal in a society made optimistic by mundane circumstance? Is there not also a striking complementarity between the metaphorical canonization of Aristotle by the Latin Church and the West's assumption of global leadership in technology, a leadership that Western Europe and her trans-Atlantic offspring have yet to relinquish? Again, is there a point at which mundane threat ceases to spur creative innovation and encourages rather a disintegrative insularity in the mechanic as well as intellectual arts and the conviction that the great voyages have already been made?

As for mysticism, its evolution in Islam was marked by a phenomenon unparalleled in Christianity: the emergence, beginning in the late twelfth century, of brotherhoods (*ṭarīqas*) each founded by a specific master of the Sūfī way and spreading throughout the Islamic world. The lodges of a particular *ṭarīqa* governed the devotional life of their adherents, deepening the awareness of God's immanence and accessibility, complementing the *sharī'a* in shaping life as a sacred ceremony. The *ṭarīqas*, which in the Ottoman period came to embrace perhaps three-quarters of the adult male population, also functioned, especially when affiliated with guilds, as socio-economic units, the story of whose comprehensive influence on Islamic society has

yet to be written. Hesychasm, by contrast, remained largely a monastic discipline, although a number of its devotional devices—notably of course the *Jesus Prayer*—pervaded and to some extent continue to pervade the Orthodox Christian faithful with something like the force of the *dhikr*, the mention or remembrance of God, among the Ṣūfīs. The sacred ceremony in which the Orthodox Christian was and should still be immersed and which, to my mind, most nearly approximates the Muslim duality of *sharī‘a* and *ṭarīqa*, is the liturgical cycle, the sacramental transmutation of the days and years into an unending celebration of Christ’s sacrifice and of those models of sanctity whom the believer seeks to emulate, those men and women whose *theosis* is fact.

The tenor of my preceding remarks notwithstanding, I am acutely aware that the history of the encounter between Orthodox Christianity and Islam has been largely one of hostility, overt and covert, during which Islam, more often than not, prevailed. Presentations other than mine will expose some of the warts, and none of us needs reminding that mutual hostility scarcely belongs to an unremembered past. Nor, in my emphasis upon Orthodox Christianity and Islam as kindred religious cultures, do I mistake kinship for identity. The supersessionist claim of Islam, resting upon the logos as book, is matched by Christianity’s inability to accord perfect legitimacy to any revelation beyond that of the incarnate logos, and inevitably the rest may be silence. I trust not, for, as I have sought to indicate in however abbreviated a fashion, Orthodox Christianity and Islam mirror one another in so many ways that full appreciation of one is served by thoughtful and sympathetic attention to the other. Obviously I am not pleading for that tolerance born simply of secular indifference. While such has had its uses, it is for believers of either hue finally insufficient. On the other hand, as an Orthodox Christian who has been an earnest student of Islamic history for thirty years, I cannot minimize the difficulty of understanding, much less standing in the sacred space of another. I am able to testify, however, that the effort to do so has yielded reward beyond anything this play of words can tell. And we have Muslims participating in this conference (and I know at least two of them) who have probed Orthodox Christianity with the minds and hearts of informed Muslim believers and come away not unsatisfied. Permit me to wonder whether Muslims and Orthodox Christians under officially atheistic governments are prone to see one another as the salient enemy.

Let the last word, as the first, go to Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos as he addresses now the *amīr* of Crete:

Since he [Patriarch Photios (858-67, 877-86)] was a man of God and learned with regard to human and divine matters, he realized that, though a dividing wall of worship separated us, yet the attributes of human wisdom, intelligence, dependability of conduct, love for mankind, and every other attribute that adorns and elevates human nature with its presence, ignites, in those persons who care for that which is good, friendship toward those imbued with the qualities they have.²⁷

²⁷Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, p. 340.

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holy eucharist that unites man to God, and holy chrism that bestows the divine grace of the Holy Spirit upon the faithful.

In the sixth chapter of the book, divine ignorance and the transcendent knowledge of God are presented. The Areopagite corpus presents God's essence as being beyond any creaturely communication. In describing these methods, the author's goal is to come to the knowledge of God which is to attain *theosis* (union with God). For Dionysios, knowledge of God is theosis; it is a personal experience; it is communion of the divine glory. It is not an expectation for the future, but a psychosomatic experience in the present life. Theosis, and not knowledge, is the ultimate goal and purpose of human existence.

In his conclusion, Kladopoulos points out that Dionysios is not a Neoplatonic philosopher, but rather a Christian thinker who expresses his faith using Neoplatonic terminology.

The book is well written and contains a helpful summary in English at the end.

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Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers. By Rita J. Burns. Old Testament Message 3. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1983. Pp. 298. \$12.95, cloth; \$8.95, paper.

Rita Burns' commentary on Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers is engaging, but after reading it one wonders why a book of this title would provide substantial commentary on most of Exodus, some of Numbers, and almost none on Leviticus. The author does admit that "we are unable to cover the entire texts of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers in a commentary of this size and must therefore be selective" (p. 24).

While the author should not be blamed for an editor's or publisher's decision, the reader should be warned that this is a book that devotes almost two-thirds of its 298 pages to Exodus and only seven of its pages to Leviticus. Are these select passages more significant? What is the implication of a commentary that selectively elucidates? Even within the Book of Exodus there are considerable omissions.

The legal materials of the Covenant Code (Ex 20.22-23.33) and the Priestly Law in Exodus 25-31 and 35-39 are skipped over.

The commentary which is provided is characterized by a careful and mature writing skill. Burns divides the Book of Exodus into two main sections. Chapters 1-18 include an account of Israel's bondage in Egypt and the wilderness wanderings; chapters 19-40 are viewed collectively as Sinai material. The Book of Exodus contains divergent literary forms. In the first section narrative predominates, but even here there is some poetry. In the second section laws are the primary concern.

Burns succeeds in demonstrating that storytellers and poets have fashioned the Book of Exodus from a complex fabric of tradition. The multiplicity of literary forms suggests the work of different writers.

Burns contends that the book is not an eyewitness account of events that actually happened in history. Instead, the Book of Exodus "gathers up and speaks the faith of generations of believers who, separated from the events by several hundred years, offered their interpretation of what the experience of their ancestors revealed about God" (p. 19). Burns stresses that this does not mean that the scenes recorded in the Book of Exodus have no relationship to historical events. In fact, the biblical story does agree with the broad outline of extra-biblical sources.

The meager commentary on the Book of Leviticus contains a discussion of multiple chapters in single paragraphs. Burns does point out that the Book of Leviticus is more unified in its material than either of the books which surround it in the Pentateuch. The careful categorization of the laws suggests that a meticulous author or redactor is responsible for the present material.

The Book of Numbers serves as a contrast to Leviticus. Burns is in agreement with the commonly held view that Numbers consists of three major sections: a) 1.1-10.10 is a continuation of the Priestly corpus from Exodus and Leviticus; b) 10.11-20.13 focuses on life in the wilderness; and c) 20.14-36.13 deals with the inheritance of the Promised Land.

Burns points out that the Book of Numbers should not be viewed by itself but should instead be seen as a part of the great Pentateuchal story of God's promise to the patriarchs. Against this framework it becomes clear that the Book of Numbers focuses on three Pentateuchal themes: land, wilderness, and Sinai. The commentary omits a discussion on the Priestly lists and regulations of 1.1-10.10. The following

chapters are also omitted: chapters 15, 18, 19, and 25-36. The commentary also contains two significant excurses, one on typology and one on feasts and ritual.

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The Psalms: Prayers for the Ups, Downs and In-Betweens of Life.
By John Craghan. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1985.
Pp. 200. \$7.95, paper.

In his new book John Craghan suggests that the Psalms of ancient Israel correspond to the various cycles of our contemporary faith. He arranges select Psalms according to their literary types (e.g. hymns, laments, wisdom, royal Psalms, etc.) and draws heavily from the insight of Walter Brueggemann and L. Alonso Schokel. Walter Brueggemann has demonstrated that the Psalms can be categorized as Psalms of "orientation," "disorientation," or "new orientation." Schokel has focuses on imagery, symbols, structure, and movement. Craghan admits in the introduction that it will be "all too apparent how much I am indebted to the work of these two scholars" (p. 9), and the reader looks hard to discover in what way Craghan's work has gone beyond what has already been written.

In focusing on Brueggemann and Schokel's work, Craghan is able to demonstrate the commonality between contemporary living and Israel's experiences of joy and suffering. The author's ability to show that the Psalms are more than ancient—once for all expressions of prayer is the book's crowning achievement. The commentary on select Psalms demonstrates how the prayers of ancient Israel can become our own. The emphasis at almost every turn in the book is on what these Psalms mean to us at prayer.

The author has followed the Revised Standard Version in offering a biblical text. In keeping with this translation, he employs masculine pronouns. However, the author is sensitive to inclusive concepts: He alludes to the way in which we fall asleep in the arms of "Mother Yahweh" (p. 60) in commenting on Psalm 121.

After an introductory chapter, the book is divided into six sections: a) Psalms of descriptive praise; b) Psalms of trust; c) Wisdom Psalms; d) Royal Psalms; e) Laments; and f) Psalms of declarative

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Reviews

Ἡ ἀγαθότης τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἡ ἐθελοκακία τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸν Βενιαμὴν Λεσβίον. Ἐνας σπουδαῖος ἐκκλησιαστικὸς λόγος τοῦ Βενιαμὴν μετὰ προλόγου, εἰσαγωγῆς, σημειώσεων, καὶ εὗρετηρίου. [The Goodness of God and the Malevolence of Men according to Benjamin Lesvios]. By Constantine P. Cavarinos. Athens: Orthodox Press Editions, 1986. Pp. 47 (including two plates). Paper-bound.

Constantine Cavarinos has rescued a speech of Benjamin Lesvios (1762-1824) on *The Goodness of God and the Malevolence of Men* from oblivion. Over twenty years ago, Dr. Cavarinos noted a reference to the speech in question in the work of Nikos Sotirakes entitled *Benjamin the Lesvian* (Mytilene, 1939) and used it in his own book *Signs and Proofs of Immortal Life* (Athens, 1964). In 1982 Dr. Cavarinos met Nikos Mavragannes, a resident of Plomarion of Lesvos, who possessed a copy of the book by G. A. Aristeides which contained the text of the complete ecclesiastical speech and managed to reproduce that speech which Cavarinos has edited, annotated, and republished in this small tome with a prologue and an introduction, plus a table of the scriptural passages to which Benjamin the Lesvian makes reference, and an index.

Dr. Cavarinos has reproduced all thirty-nine paragraphs of the speech complete. He has made changes in punctuation to make it easier for the reader to read the text and has noted the twenty-one passages that Benjamin uses from the Bible, even when Benjamin does not always cite his source. The purpose of this work by the hieromonk and teacher of the people is to show that God is all-good, loves man, and wants the happiness of men in this life and their blessedness

in the future life, but that "the will of us human beings is principally the cause of all the ills which we will suffer in the future life, if we do not repent, as we should" (p. 18). For Benjamin, God is all-good, all-powerful, infinite, creator, infinitely good, merciful, compassionate, lover of mankind, just, providential, bountiful, healer of souls and bodies, savior, and triune. Benjamin lays special emphasis on the second Person of the Trinity. God created man out of his goodness alone and gave him reason/mind to enable him to make distinctions and to decide what is good and what is evil, what is just and what is unjust, what is truth and what is untruth. God gave man free will to choose between good and evil, between the just and the unjust freely, but he also gave humankind the heart (the power of love) to love virtue and to practice it. It is deeds that show who the true Christians are.

According to Benjamin, God has not abandoned and will not abandon humankind. But humankind must ask for God's help, for his grace. We can be helped through prayer when genuine repentance and confession accompany it. In this way, evil is thwarted. Benjamin goes on to exhort us to pursue various virtues (faith, love, wisdom, justice, courage, repentance, confession, fasting, and prayer). He defines virtue as "the habit in accordance with right reason toward the good" (p. 13). No one is born virtuous but becomes virtuous as a result of habitual good behavior.

Benjamin's concern with the virtues and vices is related to his effort to demonstrate the goodness of God and our own responsibility for our own behavior. He also relates all this to the subject of the future life, to paradise, the heavenly Kingdom of God, and Gehenna of fire. For him God is always a God of good and justice and human behavior is rewarded or punished accordingly as we pursue virtue or vice (obedience to divine commandments means the cultivation of the virtues and disobedience means the choosing and pursuit of vices). Benjamin urges us to make the right choices.

The Goodness of God and the Malevolence of Men is an especially appropriate publication for our times in which some difficult choices have to be made. Dr. Cavarinos has generously provided us with the wise exhortation of a voice from our own Orthodox past lest we have trouble in making those choices.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

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Ἡ Γνώσις τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ Διονύσιον τὸν Ἀρεοπαγίτην (Knowledge of God According to Dionysios the Areopagite). By Nicholas Ch. Kladopoulos. Thessalonike: Athanasiou Altintze Press, 1981. Pp. 113. Paper.

It is generally accepted by scholars today that the writings bearing the name of Dionysios the Areopagite are not those of the convert Saint Paul made in Athens, but rather those of an anonymous author of the sixth century. Since Maximos the Confessor, various theologians both Eastern and Western have used these writings in support of their theology.

The present work focuses on the divine knowledge as found in the Areopagite corpus. The emphasis of the author is on the superiority of the apophatic method in the theological epistemology of Orthodox Christianity. The Orthodox patristic theological interpretation of the inability to know God as he is or to know God's essence is due to the fact that the "divine nature" is beyond communication.

Kladopoulos first examines the characteristics of man. According to Dionysios, man is composed of two created elements, body and soul. The body is not evil, in opposition to Plato's view, but rather susceptible to goodness. The soul is referred to as the dynamic, vital, and spiritual inner element of human existence.

In the second chapter, the author examines the nature of the knowledge of God. He points out that divine knowledge is possible through images or symbols and paradigms, but especially through the Scriptures. The emphasis is, however, on the apophatic or negative method in approaching divine knowledge.

The Dionysian corpus has a great deal to say about the "divine names." This is the symbolic method or cataphatic theology. The author examines this method in his third chapter. He points out that the hierarchy of names begins with biblical names such as "good," "light," "beauty," "love," "life," "wisdom," and "might." Then follow the lesser names derived from philosophy such as "great," and, finally, the divine energies such as "holiness."

The author points out the apophatic method or the negative way in the fourth chapter. This method negates all anthropomorphic terms that refer to the simplicity of God.

In the fifth chapter, Kladopoulos discusses the sacramental way to the knowledge of God. The Areopagite speaks of three sacraments as deserving divine knowledge, that is, holy baptism that illuminates,

holy eucharist that unites man to God, and holy chrism that bestows the divine grace of the Holy Spirit upon the faithful.

In the sixth chapter of the book, divine ignorance and the transcendent knowledge of God are presented. The Areopagite corpus presents God's essence as being beyond any creaturely communication. In describing these methods, the author's goal is to come to the knowledge of God which is to attain *theosis* (union with God). For Dionysios, knowledge of God is theosis; it is a personal experience; it is communion of the divine glory. It is not an expectation for the future, but a psychosomatic experience in the present life. Theosis, and not knowledge, is the ultimate goal and purpose of human existence.

In his conclusion, Kladopoulos points out that Dionysios is not a Neoplatonic philosopher, but rather a Christian thinker who expresses his faith using Neoplatonic terminology.

The book is well written and contains a helpful summary in English at the end.

George C. Papademetriou
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Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers. By Rita J. Burns. Old Testament Message 3. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1983. Pp. 298. \$12.95, cloth; \$8.95, paper.

Rita Burns' commentary on Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers is engaging, but after reading it one wonders why a book of this title would provide substantial commentary on most of Exodus, some of Numbers, and almost none on Leviticus. The author does admit that "we are unable to cover the entire texts of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers in a commentary of this size and must therefore be selective" (p. 24).

While the author should not be blamed for an editor's or publisher's decision, the reader should be warned that this is a book that devotes almost two-thirds of its 298 pages to Exodus and only seven of its pages to Leviticus. Are these select passages more significant? What is the implication of a commentary that selectively elucidates? Even within the Book of Exodus there are considerable omissions.

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Book Notes

Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Ἑλβετίας: Τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς ιδρύσεώς της [Holy Metropolis of Switzerland: The First Anniversary of its Founding]. Geneva: Orthodox Metropolis of Switzerland, 1983. Pp. 192.

The present volume tells the story of the establishment and activities of the Archdiocese of Switzerland. Its contents are in Greek, French, and German and include the biographical chronology of the first metropolitan, Damaskinos Papandreou, the Patriarchal Tomos of the creation of the Archdiocese, and the several messages from church agencies in Germany and Switzerland. In addition, it describes the ceremony of the enthronement of Metropolitan Damaskinos and the addresses given by the church leaders who were present representing the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox Churches in Europe. In addition, it includes the significant installation address (pp. 49-61), given by His Eminence Damaskinos as the first metropolitan of Switzerland. His address is theological in content, focusing on the important points relating to the faithful flock, the pastor, the witness of the word of God, diakonia (service), the sacramental life of the Church, the pastor as visible sign of the unity of the Church, and the pastor as servant of reconciliation and peace.

Metropolitan Damaskinos eloquently speaks about the word of God as the word of truth and the bishop as the teacher of truth. In his consecration, the bishop receives the charisma (gift) of truth and for that reason he is obliged to proclaim the authentic word of truth. The bishop speaks in the name of the Church, and the faithful speaks through the bishop (p. 51). The bishop is the vigilant guardian of the unity of his flock which is grounded in apostolic tradition,

truth, and love (p. 55). At the end of the book a brief history of the Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Chambesy, Geneva, Switzerland is included. Finally, valuable information on the Orthodox Church in Switzerland and other pertinent religious information on the Orthodox Church in Europe is given. Congratulations to Metropolitan Damaskinos Papandreou for his numerous activities on behalf of the witness of Orthodoxy in Europe and for the further expansion of ecumenical relations among the churches.

George C. Papademetriou
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

G.O.T.R. 31 (86).

Ριζάρειος ἐκκλησιαστικὴ παιδεία, Τόμος Γ' [Rizareios Ecclesiastical Education, Volume 3]. By Andreas J. Phytrakes (ed.). Athens: n.p., 1984. Pp. 405 + 17 illustrations.

The first volume of *Rizareios Ecclesiastical Education*, published in 1978, contained 367 pages. The second volume, which appeared three years later in 1981, had almost doubled its pages (675). The third volume, after an interval of three years numbered 405 pages, but kept the same quality, layout, and appearance.

Part one of this provides six studies on the Rizareios Ecclesiastical School itself. They are: "The Great Need for a Broader Reorganization of our Ecclesiastical Education: The Liturgical Education of the Faithful" by Andreas J. Phytrakes; "Ecclesiastical Education: Thoughts for Renewal" by Constantine D. Frangos; "Some Words on the First Organization of the Rizareios Ecclesiastical School in Athens" by George Demakopoulos; "The Rizareios Ecclesiastical School Library: A Brief Study of Its History" by Nikephoros Kachri-manis, which examines the sixteenth-century holdings of the library; "George Gennadios: The Formidable Teacher of the Nation and Pillar of the Rizareios Ecclesiastical School (1786-1854)" by Nicholas Karytsiotes; and "The Course of Agriculture in Ecclesiastical Education" by Constantine Antoniadis.

Part two contains five miscellaneous studies, as well as several book reviews by Vasil T. Istavrides and Andreas Phytrakes. Vasileios G. Atesis, formerly metropolitan of Lemnos, presents "Some

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Islam and Bioethics

OSMAN BAKAR

IN THIS PAPER, our primary aim is to discuss the nature and the main characteristics of the Islamic response to what is today known in the West as bioethics.¹ In compliance with the request made by the organizers of the Symposium, we will focus our discussion on the specific issue of the human body in the light of Islamic teachings. In our view, the choice of this issue is a wise one, for many of the highly controversial aspects of contemporary biomedical practices and the ethical issues which they raise concern the treatment of the human body. The views which a particular people hold concerning the human body are clearly reflected in one way or another in almost every facet of their culture and civilization including the arts and sciences, particularly medicine. A discussion of the fundamental Islamic views of the human body will therefore help to throw an important light on the attitude of Islam toward many of the issues that are debated in contemporary bioethical discussion.

Nature and Characteristics of the Islamic Response

Thanks to the modern means of communication, the worldwide Muslim community is immediately made aware of the latest biomedical innovations in the West. Although from the practical point of view

¹ For a bibliography of contemporary Muslim writings on this subject and related topics, see M. A. Anees, "A Select Bibliography on Islamic Medicine" in *The Muslim World Book Review*, 5.1 (Autumn 1984).

Muslim society is still spared the intrusion of many of these new, controversial technological inventions in the biomedical field, or is not affected by them to the same degree as is Western society, it cannot escape from having to deal with their ethical and intellectual or philosophical implications. The very nature and character of Islam as a religion demands that a definite stand be made on these issues. This obliges us to make a few remarks about the character of the Islamic religion itself insofar as this has an important bearing on the question under discussion.

The most fundamental teaching in Islam is the doctrine of Unity (*al-tawhīd*) which is expressed in the most universal manner possible in the first "testimony" of the Islamic faith, *Lā ilāha illa'llāh*, usually translated as "there is no god but God." This doctrine conveys the basic attitude and spirit of Islam which every Muslim seeks to realize in his own being by organizing and integrating all his thoughts and actions into a harmonious whole and a unity. Once this unity is achieved, there is no longer any distinction, be it in the domain of thought or of action, between the spiritual and temporal or between the religious and profane. All thoughts and all actions, including those which are otherwise seen as the most mundane of activities such as carrying on trade or conducting the administrative affairs of the state, then possess a religious character and a spiritual significance. Islam therefore seeks through its principle of Unity to integrate all knowledge and human actions into a single realm of the religious and the sacred so that no true and useful knowledge and no good and beneficial act can possibly be excluded from this realm and be identified instead as secular and profane. By virtue of this fact, no human activity, and that includes the technological, can escape the moral judgment of Islam. Likewise, Islam cannot remain indifferent to any form of science which claims to provide a knowledge of reality or some particular aspect of it. It judges the latter in the light of its own conception of knowledge.

In order to relate in a more concrete manner the character of Islam as the religion of Unity to our discussion of the Islamic response to bioethics, we need to be more precise: how is the principle of Unity specifically applied in Islam, making the integration of knowledge and human actions possible? At the level of thought, integration is achieved through the application of the idea of unity and hierarchy of knowledge as well as of existence, an idea which is not unique to Islam but is common to all traditional civilizations

including that of Christianity. However, there is something striking about the Islamic application of this idea that is not found to the same degree in other civilizations. Firstly, the vast synthesis that Islam created out of such diverse and historically alien sciences as those of the Greeks, Chaldeans, Persians, Indians, and the Chinese, with which it came into contact, was unprecedented in the history of human civilization.² Islam integrated many elements of these sciences into a new body of knowledge, which it further developed, to the extent that these elements were compatible with its own idea and spirit of Unity.

Secondly, Islam produced a large number of universal figures whose names appear in almost every branch of knowledge known to its civilization. The idea of unity and hierarchy of knowledge was a living reality by virtue of the fact that the different levels of knowledge lived in harmony within the mind and soul of each of these figures. And thirdly, in order to preserve the unity and hierarchy of the sciences, successive generations of Muslim scholars, from al-Kindī in the third/ninth century to Shāh Walīullāh of Delhi in the twelfth/eighteenth century, have devoted a considerable deal of their intellectual talents and geniuses to the classification of the sciences, for it is through this classification that the scope and position of each science within the total scheme of knowledge is always kept in view. These are some of the striking features of the Islamic concern with the integration of knowledge and ideas.

In Islam, the highest knowledge is that of Unity which refers to knowledge of the divine essence, names, and qualities as well as knowledge of the divine effects and acts embracing God's creation. All other knowledge must be organically related to this knowledge and all ideas, concepts and theories in whatever domain of study are to be judged in the light of it. This supreme knowledge of Unity serves as a compulsory guide in any Muslim attempt to deal with the intellectual and philosophical implications of contemporary biomedical discoveries and their application, which in fact are numerous.³ It is, however,

² See S. H. Nasr, *Science and Civilization in Islam* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 29-40.

³ Many molecular biologists like J. Monod, G. Stent, and R. Sinsheimer have given philosophical and ethical meanings to modern biomedical discoveries that have the gravest implications for traditional religious worldview and ethics.

beyond the scope of this paper to deal with the above-mentioned implications.

At the level of actions, integration is achieved through the application of the *sharī'a*, the divine law of Islam, which is the concrete embodiment of the divine will. The divine law in Islam is concrete and all-embracing in the sense that it includes not only universal moral principles but also details of the way in which man should conduct every facet of his earthly life, both private and social. It is extremely important for us to know the Islamic conception of law if we are to understand fully the nature and characteristics of the Islamic response to bioethics. The role of the divine law in Islam may be compared to its importance and centrality to that of theology in Christianity. Like the teachings on divine Unity, the *sharī'a* is an integral aspect of the Islamic revelation. It is therefore a religious and sacred law which serves as the guide for a Muslim to conduct his life in harmony with the divine will. It is the source of knowledge of what is right and wrong. In Islam, therefore, its moral injunctions and attitudes are to be found in its law which, because of its all-embracing nature, sanctifies the whole of human life and leaves no domain outside the sphere of divine legislation.

According to the *sharī'a*, there is a hierarchy of values of human acts and objects in the sight of God. Every human act must fall into one of the following five categories: (1) obligatory (*wājib*), (2) meritorious or recommended (*mandūb*), (3) forbidden (*ḥarām*), (4) reprehensible (*makrūh*), and (5) indifferent (*mubāḥ*). It should be remarked here that although in essence all of the *sharī'a* is contained in the Qur'ān the above classifications of human acts into five legal categories did not appear until the third century of the Islamic era when Islamic jurisprudence came into existence as an independent science and the Islamic law became well codified and systematized by men of great genius and religious integrity.⁴ Further, there are several schools of Islamic law which, while agreeing upon the fundamental principles of the law and upon many of the obligatory acts such as the five daily prayers and those that are prohibited such as wine-drinking, may differ in their views when it comes to the question of determining the precise technical legal status

⁴ For a detailed account of this codification and systemization of Islamic law, see for example, A. Hasan, *The Early Development of Islamic Jurisprudence* (Islamabad, 1970).

of many of the other acts, or with reward to the details of those major obligatory acts and prohibitions. Also, since the teachings of the *sharī'a* are meant to be applied in all ages and climes, it is the task of doctors of the law (*fuqahā*), especially the experts (*mujtahids*) among them, to interpret and apply those teachings to newly arisen problems and situations in whatever sphere of human activity.

Today, we are confronted with a host of new problems and situations in the biomedical field that have never existed before, problems made possible by new discoveries and the application of new techniques. Problems like those relating to organ transplantation, artificial insemination, and genetic and behavior control are entirely new while such age-old problems as contraception, abortion, and the question of the appropriate treatment of the dying have incorporated new issues into them as a result of the introduction of modern biomedical technology. It has come to be widely realized now that all these problems are multi-dimensional in character. They are at once ethical and legal, medical and scientific, social and philosophical, and thus require a multi-dimensional approach in their solutions. In the light of what we have said regarding the centrality of the *sharī'a* in the religious and spiritual life of the Muslims, it is only natural that the first question a Muslim would ask when confronted with these new developments is this: Is such and such an innovative act permissible to not from the point of view of the *sharī'a*? The first and most important Muslim response to contemporary bioethics therefore comes from the deliberations of the jurists (*fuqahā*) whose legal rulings (*fatwās*) on these matters are immediately sought after by the Muslim community to provide it with the right code of conduct, since they are the authoritative interpreters and guardians of the divine law of Islam.

There is, in fact, in Islamic tradition a well-established discipline of biomedical jurisprudence which has dealt with many of the biomedical issues currently debated in the West, especially those relating to contraception and abortion, the question of dissection of the human body, and the meaning and definition of death with all its implications upon the duties and responsibilities of the living toward the dying and the dead. We may also recall here the fact that some of the Muslim physicians like Ibn al-Nafis (d. 1288), who is now celebrated as the real discoverer of the minor circulation of the blood, were at the same time eminent figures in the field of jurisprudence

(*fiqh*).⁵ This traditional biomedical jurisprudence provides the necessary background and guidelines for any Muslim attempt to deal with contemporary bioethics.

In our own modern times, many people have spoken of the need for a new value orientation and reappraisal of the traditional system of values in the light of what they term revolutionary scientific and technological progress in the biomedical field. As far as Islam is concerned, although many modernized Muslims have joined this chorus, there can be no question of undertaking a religious reform of the *sharī'ah* for the sake of conforming to this so-called scientific and technological progress which is the fruit of a totally alien and anti-religious concept of life. Moreover, for millions of Muslims throughout the Islamic world, especially in the Indian subcontinent, modern Western medicine has never proved itself to be indispensable. They have a more well established medical tradition on which to rely, in the form of the various types of traditional medicine which have survived to this day and which, in contrast to modern medicine, are intimately and harmoniously linked to their religious worldview and ethics.

The traditional Islamic views concerning issues such as contraception, abortion, dissection of the human body, the proper treatment of dying patients, and the meaning and definition of death, are not going to be affected by new developments in biomedical technology. This is because the Islamic attitudes toward these issues are directly shaped and governed by the immutable teachings of Islam on the more fundamental question of the meaning and purpose of human life and death.⁶ It is not possible for us in this paper to go into the detailed Islamic views of each of the above-mentioned issues. What we wish to convey here is that in their response to these contemporary issues, present-day Muslim jurists are only reasserting the traditional Islamic views. In other words, new discoveries and new techniques do not provide them with any logical justification to call into question the ethico-legal basis on which their predecessors have

⁵ Ibn al-Nafīs taught *fiqh* (jurisprudence) at al-Masrūriyyah School in Cairo, and his name was included in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyyīn al-Kubrā* (Great Classes of Shāfi'ī Scholars) of al-Subkī (d. 1370). See A. Z. Iskander, "Ibn al-Nafīs" in C. Gillespie (ed.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* (New York, 1969), p. 603.

⁶ For a good account of the various views on death and life after death in Islamic tradition, see J. I. Smith and Y. Y. Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Albany, 1981).

formulated their legal views on the above issues. It must be emphasized, however, that we are only speaking here of those cases which have historical precedents in Islam.

Let us illustrate the above point with an example. In traditional sources which contain references to biomedical jurisprudence, we find detailed discussions of specific conditions and circumstances under which contraception and abortion are permissible in Islam.⁷ While Islam generally prohibits abortion at all stages of pregnancy, Muslim jurists, guided by the principle of the *sharīʿa* that allows necessity to remove restriction and says that in having to choose between two evils the lesser one is recommended, have also agreed on the exceptional situation in which it is necessary to perform abortion even when the fetus has been completely formed. This exceptional situation arises when it is reliably established that continued pregnancy would greatly endanger the life of the mother. As to why the saving of the mother's life is to be given priority over that of the child, a jurist explains: "For the mother is the origin of the fetus; moreover, she is established in life with duties and responsibilities, and she is also a pillar of the family. It would not be possible to sacrifice her life for the life of a fetus which has not acquired a personality and which has no responsibilities or obligations to fulfill."⁸

Now, modern biomedical knowledge and technology have certainly made available new methods of contraception and abortion and introduced new variables into modern man's encounter with these two problems, such as the possibility of having prenatal knowledge of some aspects of the fetus, but in no way do these new scientific and technological developments affect and alter the basic Islamic ethico-legal equations of the problems since the legitimate factors for contraception and abortion in Islam are valid at all times. Prenatal knowledge of some kinds of defects in the child-to-be may have provided many people of our times with a justifiable basis for carrying out abortion because they only want to have a perfectly normal and healthy child. But Islamic law cannot make these known defects a legitimate basis for abortion unless they are deemed to endanger the very life of the mother. In the light of clearly spelled out views in Islam as to what are

⁷ For a modern discussion of these issues but based on traditional sources, see Y. al-Qaradawi, *The Lawful and the Prohibited in Islam* (Indianapolis), pp. 198-202.

⁸ Ibid. p. 202.

legitimate and illegitimate conditions for contraception and abortion, the question of whether or not to use modern methods and techniques of these two acts, once their necessary ethico-legal conditions are fulfilled, becomes essentially a medical issue rather than an ethical one.

Not all the bioethical issues which arise from modern biomedical discoveries and techniques and which are currently debated in the West have been taken up by Muslim religious scholars or, if they have been taken up, they have been resolved in a conclusive manner. As far as those issues which have been posed in the Muslim community are concerned, we would say that in most cases Muslim jurists have achieved quite a remarkable degree of consensus in their legal views, enough so as to put those issues to rest. Such was the case, for example, with the issue of artificial insemination. When the insemination is restricted to the semen of legally married couples, it is permissible from the point of view of the *sharī'a*. The question of organ transplantation, however, generated lengthy and controversial debates in many parts of the Islamic world. Whatever the technical legal status of each of the still disputed issues finally turns out to be, it is now clear to us that in the encounter between Islam and contemporary bioethics the nature and pattern of its responses is essentially determined by the teachings contained in its sacred law which is at once ethical and legal.

As we have remarked in the introduction to this paper, many of the controversial bioethical issues in the contemporary debate concern directly or are related in one way or another to the treatment of the human body. It is in the light of this awareness that we now turn to a discussion of the human body according to the teachings of Islam. Through this discussion, we hope to throw further light on the attitude of Islam toward contemporary bioethics. In traditional Islamic literature, there is an extensive treatment of the subject by different intellectual schools. In this paper, we can only bring out those elements that are considered central to the Islamic teachings.

The Human Body

According to Islam, man is God's most noble creation and this fact is symbolized in the Qur'ān by the prostration of the angels before Adam upon the divine command.⁹ There are numerous verses in the Qur'ān and also sayings of the Prophet which praise the perfect mould and proportions in which man has been created as well as the

⁹ Al-Qur'ān (2.34).

beauty of the human form.¹⁰ The Prophet, while gazing at his own reflection in a mirror, prayed to God for his soul to be adorned with perfect moral and spiritual beauty just as his body had been made beautiful.

Man is a creature of many levels and facets. He is body, soul, and spirit. But Islam, faithful to its fundamental doctrine of Unity, views man as a unified whole in which all the parts are interdependent. Islam shares with Judaism and Christianity the view that man is created in the image of God. A consequence of this view is that the human body must also participate in certain respects in this dignity of man as the "image of God." Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet and the fourth caliph of Islam, refers in one of his poems to man as the microcosm (*'ālam ṣaghīr*). This idea of man as the microcosm, as we shall see, constitutes one of the most fundamental principles of many of the sciences cultivated by Islam, particularly the biomedical sciences. And all of the above Islamic views of man have important consequences upon the spirit with which Islam carries out the study of the human body and also upon the way in which Islam enjoins its followers to treat the human body.

At the level of the law, Islam conceives of the human body mainly in terms of its rights and duties. Islam attaches great importance to the overall health, welfare, and well-being of the body, not for its own sake, but for the sake of the spiritual soul which constitutes the real essence of man. A body that is normal and healthy may serve as a perfect instrument for either virtues or vices. Islam insists that all activities of the body must be for the sake of the health and felicity of the soul. In other words, in Islam, and this is true of all religions, the idea of having a perfectly healthy body is so that it may act as a perfect instrument of the soul to realize the very purpose for which it has been created. The relationship between the body and the soul has been described by Muslim scholars by means of various analogies depending on the point of view from which a particular relationship is envisaged. But in all these relationships the body is subordinated to the soul. Al-Ghazālī, for example, describes the body as the vehicle or riding-animal of the soul and the latter as a traveler who visits a foreign country, which is this world, for the sake of merchandise and will soon return to his native land.¹¹ The vehicle should be taken care of and well looked after but not to the point of forgetting or neglecting

¹⁰“We have indeed created man in the best of moulds,” al-Qur’ān (95.4).

¹¹Al-Ghazzālī, *The Alchemy of Happiness* (Lahore, 1979), pp. 21 and 49.

the final goal for which the traveler has set out on his journey.

Islam enjoins the fulfillment of all the legitimate needs of the body. What constitutes the body's legitimate needs are defined and determined by the divine law of Islam. In legislating its laws for the human collectivity as a whole Islam takes into full account both the strengths and weaknesses inherent in human nature. It is also aware of human tendencies either toward the excessive pursuits of the needs of the body or toward the neglect of its legitimate needs. Both tendencies can have detrimental effects on man's total health. The general aim of Islamic legislation on such basic needs of the body as food, sex, and dress as well as its other needs is to ensure not only man's physical health but also his psychological and spiritual health insofar as these seemingly purely physical needs of man also possess aspects which affect his psyche and spirit. For Muslims, it is by faithfully observing the law that man's physical, psychological, and spiritual needs are harmoniously met.

In a number of his sayings, the Prophet speaks of the rights of the body which every Muslim is required to respect and safeguard. The Prophet was unhappy when he learned that several of his Companions had vowed to fast every day,¹² to pray all night, and to abstain from sexual relations. He reminded them that his own life and practices provide the best examples for Muslims to follow and those who deviate from his ways are not of his community. Thus Islam is against the denial to the body of its basic rights or needs even in the name of the spirit. We have so far spoken of the basic rights or legitimate needs of the body in rather general terms. Let us now refer to them in a more concrete manner.

The teachings of Islam greatly emphasize the question of personal hygiene and cleanliness. This assertion is likely to be viewed with scepticism by many Westerners, especially those who have traveled to different parts of the Islamic world where they see before their own eyes numerous evidences for unhealthy conditions and unsanitary practices. Whatever the reasons or causes are for the present-day conditions of hygiene and state of cleanliness among the Muslim peoples, the fact remains that the *sharī'a* contains numerous injunctions concerning hygiene and cleanliness.¹³ The teachings of the

¹²The best practice in fasting, according to one hadīth, is that of Prophet David who fasted on alternate days.

¹³On the importance of the religious element in hygiene in Islam, see S. H. Nasr, *Islamic Science: An Illustrated Study* (London, 1976), pp. 164-66.

sharī'a in this domain became incorporated into the general body of Islamic medicine. In its theory and practice, Islamic medicine views these religious injunctions on matters of hygiene and cleanliness as the best means of preventing illnesses. It also sees certain medical merits in many of the rituals and religious practices of Islam.

Ritual cleanliness requires Muslims to wash themselves regularly. In order to perform their five daily prayers, they must be in a state of ritual purity. To be in this state, they have to perform an act of ablution in which they are required to wash specific parts of the body as prescribed by the law. Further, Islamic law requires that after every sexual union both husband and wife take a ritual bath or the major ablution¹⁴ without which the minor ablutions, as the former ones are called, are deemed invalid before the law. We may also mention here the traditional Islamic practice of circumcision which is also to be found in Jewish religious tradition and which is not unrelated to the question of hygiene and cleanliness. This practice has come to be widely accepted and recommended by the medical profession of our times.

Another factor of health upon which Islam places great emphasis is diet. The dietary habits of the Muslims, as regulated by the *sharī'a*, have an important effect upon their overall state of health.¹⁵ On the importance of diet from the point of view of Islamic medicine, Nasr writes:

It plays a much more important role than does diet in modern medicine. The Muslims considered the kind of food and the manner in which it is consumed to be so directly connected to health that the effect of diet was considered by them as being perhaps more powerful than that even of drugs on both health and illness. It is not accidental that the Andalusian physician Abū Marwān ibn Zuhr in the sixth/twelfth century wrote the first scientific work on diet ever composed, the *Kitāb al-Aghdhiya* (The Book of Diet), and that food plays such an important therapeutic role to this day in the Islamic world.¹⁶

¹⁴In Arabic, major ablution is called *ghusl*. It necessitates the washing of the whole body. The term for minor ablutions is *wuḍū'*.

¹⁵On the principles of the *sharī'a* governing the dietary habits of the Muslims, see al-Qaradawī, *The Lawful*, pp. 39-78.

¹⁶S. H. Nasr, *Science*, p. 166.

From the point of view of the *sharī'a*, food in general also falls into the various legal categories previously mentioned. The most important of these, as far as Muslim dietary habits are concerned, is the prohibited category. Included in this category are alcoholic drinks, pork, and meats of certain species of birds and animals. There were no lack of attempts in Islam to provide a kind of philosophical and scientific justification for these dietary prohibitions, some of which also exist in various other religions such as Judaism. For example, the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (The Brethren of Purity), a group of fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh century scholars, maintained that plants and flesh of animals that man takes as food have an effect upon both his body and his soul.¹⁷ This is because beautiful and good qualities as well as evil qualities are inherent in each of the three kingdoms of mineral, plant, and animal. It is well to remember that for the *Ikhwān* the three kingdoms come into being as a result of the mixing of the four elements to various degrees by the Universal Soul. The beautiful and good qualities are manifestations of the good souls, while the evil qualities are due to the evil souls. Different sets of qualities are inherent in different plants and in different animals. It is these qualities which affect both the physical body and the soul of man, either in a positive or a negative sense, depending upon the particular plants and animals which he consumes as food. In the context of Islamic spirituality, some religious scholars have also offered spiritual justifications for the dietary prohibitions. According to them, one of the factors which influence one's degree of concentration in prayer, and hence the spiritual efficacy of one's prayer, is the kind of food one eats.

Apart from dietary prohibitions, Islamic religious injunctions like fasting, eating less than one's full appetite, and eating slowly constitute important elements in Muslim dietary habits. The medical value of these injunctions to the human body is duly recognized and appreciated. But for Muslims the supreme motive in doing all these acts is religious and spiritual, namely obedience to the divine will and the salvation of the soul.

While Muslims are enjoined by their religion to strive and pray to God for good health, they are also taught to have the correct attitudes and responsibilities toward illness. Both health and sickness of the body are ordained by God. As for the believer, he derives

¹⁷S. H. Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, (Boulder, 1978), p. 70.

benefits from both of them. If he is sick, he views that sickness as a trial from God and bears it with patience, resignation and thankfulness. When a believer succeeds in responding to his illness in this particular manner, he is then able to derive spiritual benefits from his physical suffering. Diseases, in the traditional Islamic perspective, therefore possess a spiritual dimension and a spiritual significance. In one sacred *ḥadīth* God speaks through the Prophet: "O my worshipper! Good health forms a link between you and yourself but sickness makes a link between you and me."

Islamic law does not permit inflictions of bodily pain for the attainment of spiritual well-being. But in sickness or physical afflictions which it is his fate to receive, a believer finds an excellent occasion to derive spiritual benefits from them and to strengthen his relation with God. The following collection of prophetic *ḥadīths* as given by Sūyūṭī, a famous Egyptian scholar of the late fifteenth! early sixteenth century, in his work *Medicine of the Prophet*,¹⁸ further demonstrates the positive value and spiritual significance of illnesses or physical afflictions in Islamic teachings:

Verily a believer should not fear sickness; for if he knew what he derives from sickness, he would desire to be sick even to death.

The people who meet with severe pain are the prophets of God, the devout and the very best of men. A man is afflicted in proportion to his love of the Faith. Affliction does not cease for the devout as long as they walk this earth and until they are free from sin.

If God loves a people, he will give them affliction.

There is no sickness or pain which a believer receives that is not a penance for his sins whether it be a thorn which pricks him or a disaster that overwhelms him.

No Muslim receives any injury without God shedding from him his sins, as a tree sheds its leaves.

As we have said, these sayings of the Prophet seek to stress the positive value of diseases and physical afflictions and to define the correct spiritual attitudes toward them if and when they occur. They

¹⁸See C. Elgood's English translation of this work as well as that of Chaghmīnī, known by the same title, in *Osiris*, 14 (1962) 33-192.

do not at all mean that Muslims ought to prefer sickness to health. Abū Dardā, a Companion of the Prophet once asked him: "O Prophet of God, if I am cured of my sickness and am thankful for it, is it better than if I were sick and bore it patiently?" The Prophet replied to Abū Dardā: "Verily, the Prophet of God loves sound health just as you do." There are numerous other *ḥadīths* which call on the sick to find medical treatment for their sickness, and on the believers in general to visit the sick and to offer them both physical and spiritual comfort.¹⁹ The Prophet, however, has also advised against excessive use of medicine because "sometimes medicines do leave behind diseases."²⁰ To appreciate the significance of this prophetic advice, it is perhaps pertinent to refer to the fact that the so-called iatrogenic diseases, namely diseases caused by medical treatment, are today ranked third in importance among all the recognized ailments of contemporary man.²¹

Thus, in both his states of health and of sickness, a Muslim is enjoined by his religion to provide a proper treatment of his body. And when he dies, his body deserves all the respects it should get in accordance with the Islamic divine law. Islamic law requires that burial should take place at the earliest possible time and that there should be no unnecessary delays. It is not possible here for us to go into the details of the whole set of rites associated with Muslim burial.²² What we wish to emphasize, however, is that it is the religious duty of the community to make sure that the dead be given their proper and immediate burials. The Islamic respect for the dead also manifests itself in its attitude toward the dissection of the body. Islamic law does not permit this act although there have been jurists over the ages who question its strict prohibition. Thus, Ibn al-Nafis, whom we have mentioned earlier, tells us that what prevented him from practicing anatomy was his religion.

¹⁹For the various *ḥadīths* pertaining to this question see the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Imām Bukhārī in the two major chapters dealing with sickness and healing, or Elgood's translation mentioned above.

²⁰See Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbar*, 3, p. 273, quoted by A. Ali in his "Contribution of Islam to the Development of Medical Science," *Studies in History of Medicine*, 4 (1980) 49.

²¹J. Needleman, *Consciousness and Tradition* (New York, 1982), p. 99.

²²For a description of the various processes connected with the preparation of bodies for final burial, see A. A. Tritton, "Muslim Funeral Customs," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 9 (1937-39) 653-61.

In speaking of the total health of the individual, and not just his physical health, it is necessary also to say something, however briefly, about the Islamic view of dress since clothes directly pertain not only to the body but also to the soul. Indeed, a man's clothes are among the nearest of all things to his soul, exercising upon it a perpetual and immensely powerful influence, although they belong to the outer aspects of his life. The clothes one wears, apart from reflecting the state of one's inner beauty, are also closely related to one's views of the human body.

What are fundamentally aimed at in the Muslim dress habits, which are again regulated by the *sharī'a*, are decency, spiritual dignity, and beauty.²³ Decency demands that Muslims wear clothes which cover their bodies. In particular, the dress of the Muslim woman should not be transparent or be too tight as delineate and display the parts of her body. The idea of spiritual dignity includes the question of the preservation of masculinity for men and femininity for women so that the dress of men must clearly be distinct from that of women. The spiritual dignity that one normally associates with the robe and turban of the traditional Muslim male dress and with the veil (*ḥijāb*) of the traditional female dress has the effect of reminding man of his spiritual function and responsibilities. Moreover, dress is in conformity with those responsibilities. The spirit of Islamic dress is beautifully summed up by a contemporary scholar:

His (i.e. a Muslim's) clothes were in keeping with the dignity of man's function as representative of God on earth, and at the same time they made it easy for him to perform the ablution, and they in perfect conformity with the movements of the prayer. Moreover they were an ornament to the prayer, unlike modern European clothes which rob the movements of the prayer of all their beauty and impede them, just as they act as a barrier between the body and the ablution.²⁴

In Islam, the beauty of the human form is veiled. From the point of view of the law, the main reason for this veiling, apart from those already cited, is to govern human passions so as to create a healthy

²³See al-Qaradawi, *The Lawful*, pp. 79-94.

²⁴See Abū Bakr Sirāj al-Dīn, "The Spiritual Function of Civilization," J. Needleman (ed.), *The Sword of Gnosis* (Baltimore, 1974), p. 107.

religious and spiritual climate in which man is constantly reminded of his duties to God. This veiling is the more necessary in the case of the female body. The esoteric teachings of Islam as embodied in the Šūfī tradition would explain this by saying that the female body symbolizes certain esoteric truths concerning the divinity and, in Islam, the inner mysteries are likewise veiled.²⁵ Therefore, there is also a metaphysical significance in the traditional Islamic dress. In Islam the beauty of the human form becomes interiorized and spiritualized and not exteriorized and profanized. Because of the presence of these inner teachings in Islam which see in the human body a message of the highest spiritual truths, coupled with the strict injunctions of the *sharī'a* concerning the display of the human form, including in art, the Islamic appreciation of the beauty of the human form did not lead to its profane glorification or the cult of the "body beautiful" as a purely physical and sexual object.

While the beauty of the human form is to be veiled, the dress that veils it should present itself as something beautiful. Once the Prophet said: "Anyone who has an atom of pride in his heart will not enter the Garden." A man then asked him, "What about the one who likes to wear a handsome robe and good shoes?" The Prophet replied: "Surely Allah is beautiful and loves beauty."²⁶ More important than the beauty of clothes, however, is the beauty of one's outward behavior and bodily movements since it is the latter which constitutes the real essence of one's overall external beauty. This brings us to the question of the duties of the human body and its various parts.

Beauty of man's general appearance and outward behavior results when movements of the different parts of his body become balanced and harmonized. According to al-Ghazālī, there is an appropriate

²⁵"Woman even in a certain manner incarnates esotericism by reason of certain aspects of her nature and function; "esoteric truth," the *ḥaqīqa*, is "felt" as a "feminine" reality, and the same is true of *baraka*. Moreover the veil and the seclusion of woman are connected with the final cyclic phase in which we live—and they present a certain analogy with the forbidding of wine and the veiling of the mysteries." See F. Schuon, *Understanding Islam* (London, 1972), p. 37.

²⁶In another version of this *ḥadīth*, a handsome man came to the Prophet saying: "I love beauty and have been given some of it, as you can see, to the extent that I dislike anyone's having a better pair of sandals than I. Is this pride, O Messenger of Allah?" The Prophet replied: "No. Pride is to reject the truth and to view other people with contempt."

pattern of movement for each bodily member based on a general law of balance and harmony willed by God.²⁷ If man is to achieve a balanced and harmonized relationship between his physical body and his spiritual soul or spiritual heart, which is the center or "nucleus" of his whole being, then his bodily movements must conform to that appropriate pattern. For Muslims, it is in the bodily movements of the Prophet himself that the perfect pattern is to be found. Thus, al-Ghazālī maintains that Muslims, as far as possible, should follow the example of the Prophet even in his bodily movements which, in fact, have been recorded in a detailed manner and preserved to this day as an integral part of the *Sunnah* or prophetic tradition. Millions of Muslims throughout the ages have sought to emulate his manner of walking, eating, sleeping, putting on his sandals, and so on.

Balanced and harmonized movements of the body are realized by one's acting in harmony with the divine law itself. One must abstain from doing those acts which are forbidden and discouraged by the law since each sinful act, says the Prophet, produces a veil of rust over the heart. At the same time, one must perform acts that are made obligatory and recommended by the law. This is what we mean by the duties of the human body. In his magnum opus *The Revivification of the Religious Sciences (Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn)*, a book dealing with the mysteries of fasting, al-Ghazālī speaks of the necessary conditions for a fasting that is perfect and acceptable to God. Not only must one who is fasting abstain from food and sexual pleasures but he must also restrain all of his bodily members, especially the eyes, tongue, ears, hands and feet, from acts that are sinful before the law. The effect of this abstinence is profound, not only on the soul but even on the whole pattern of one's bodily movements. The basic idea of fasting is so that this abstinence becomes a lasting habit and so that this habitual abstinence results from a conscious awareness of its harmony with the divine will as embodied in the law. Moreover, says al-Ghazālī, by way of this abstinence we remove obstacles, in the form of unchecked carnal desires, to the remembrance of God that is directed toward the heart. Indeed, according to the Qur'ān, fasting has been prescribed so that men might attain a state of God-consciousness.²⁸

Abstinence goes hand in hand with the performance of affirmative

²⁷Gai Eaton, "Perfecting the Mirror," *Parabola*, 10.3 (August, 1985) 45.

²⁸Al-Qur'ān (2.183).

or positive acts, the most important of which, from the point of view of the *sharī'a* is the five daily prayers. It has been said in Islam that in the ritual prayer the spiritual, intellectual, psychological and physical elements of man are all in perfect harmony and equilibrium. At the physical level itself, the whole pattern of bodily movements acted out in prayer is said to be in perfect balance and harmony and to signify the various possible relationships between Creator and creation. As one scholar has summarized it:

In the ritual prayer itself the spiritual and intellectual element is represented by the recitation from the Qur'ān and the emotional element by the feelings of fear and of hope with which he is commanded to call upon God, but what might be called the existential element is acted out in physical movements which utilize the body as a vehicle for the spirit. In the first part of each unit of prayer the worshipper stands upright while he recites certain passages from the Qur'ān, and this uprightness, this verticality, is an image of the "straight" (or "vertical") path upon which he asks God to lead him. The body has itself become a symbol of the ray which connects heaven and earth, the divine and the human.

But the Muslim prays not only on his own behalf and on behalf of his fellow men and women but also in the name of creation as a whole; this is an aspect of his function as the "vicegerent of God on earth." The standing is followed by a bowing in which the worshipper is instructed to keep the upper part of his body, from head to hips, parallel with the ground, and it is sometimes said that all the creatures which move upon four legs, their bodies horizontal, are represented by this posture. This bowing is followed by the prostration in which the worshipper places his forehead on the ground, his body folded up as though in the fetal position, and although this is primarily an acknowledgement of the power and glory of the Transcendent it is also, according to certain sages, a representation of the inanimate realm, the mineral order in particular. While bowing he had glorified God as the infinite, the all-embracing on the horizontal level. Now—in the prostration—he is, as it were, reduced to the dimensions of his own innermost "nucleus." In this way the worshipper's physical body has acted out the variety of relationships between Creator and creation.²⁹

²⁹Eaton, "Perfecting the Mirror," pp. 47-48.

In Sufism, moreover, there is the "prayer of the heart," the *dhikr* or invocation of the divine name, which is the most universal form of prayer. The Ṣūfī technique of *dhikr* is of various forms. This is, however, not the place to go into its detailed discussion. Here, we only wish to mention its connection with the body's natural activity of breathing and with the rhythm of the beating of the heart, in order to emphasize further the role of the body in the spiritual life of Islam. The Prophet is reported to have said: "He who does not vibrate at remembrance of The Friend has no friend."³⁰ In *dhikr* there is the making use of rhythmical breathing and movements of the body. Such rhythm is the basic characteristic of the Ṣūfī sacred dance which has its basis, among others, in the above *ḥadīth*. Whether the *dhikr* is done silently or in the form of a chant, its aim is to enable man to remember God by invoking his name at all times so that it becomes ultimately integrated into the very rhythm of the beating of the heart.³¹

It is clear from our whole discussion of the human body so far that Islam attaches great importance to the health of the body, not viewed independently of the rest of the constituents of man, but as an integral element of that state of total health in which the spiritual, intellectual, emotional, and physical elements of man are all in perfect harmony and equilibrium.

The Human Body as Microcosm

We have earlier asserted that the idea of man as the microcosm constitutes a fundamental principle of many of the Islamic sciences. The meaning of this idea is that the whole universe is essentially contained in man. In other words, man is a universe in miniature. Here, we will limit our consideration of this idea to its important consequence on the spirit with which Muslim scholars throughout the ages have approached and carried out the study of the human body. There is no doubt that Muslim scholars have viewed its study as a very important one. The body is studied not only for biomedical benefits but also for man's intellectual and spiritual benefits. The significance of the anatomy and physiology of the human body, for them, is not limited to the biomedical sciences but extends to the spiritual domain as well. The spirit of its study is described by al-Ghazālī in these terms:

The science of the structure of the body is called anatomy: it is a great science, but most men are heedless of it. If any study

it, it is only for the purpose of acquiring skill in medicine, and not for the sake of becoming acquainted with the perfection of the power of God. The knowledge of anatomy is the means by which we become acquainted with the animal life; by means of knowledge of animal life, we may acquire a knowledge of the heart and the knowledge of the heart is a key to the knowledge of God.³²

Since man, being a microcosm, recapitulates within himself the whole of existence, there exists a correspondence between man and the universe. Islamic medicine adopts this correspondence as one of its fundamental principles. The human body, like those of the other animals, is comprised of the four humors (i.e. blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile) mixed according to certain principles³³ just as the world of nature is formed from the mixture of the four elements (fire, air, water, and earth). The humors themselves are composed of the elements and the four natures (heat, moisture, cold, and dryness). To be more precise, each humor is related to two elements and two natures so that it possesses qualities at once similar to and different from the other humors. It is this humoral constitution of the human body which provides the basis for the definitions of health and illness in Islamic medicine. What is called health refers to the state of balance and harmony of the humors while the disruption of this state of equilibrium is what is called illness. The task of the physician is to restore the balance of the humors.

The correspondence between the microcosm and the universe has important consequences upon diagnosis and treatment of illnesses in the Islamic medical system. The balance of the humoral constitution may be disrupted by both internal and external causes. Muslim physicians pay much attention to the external factors also because, in consequence of the above correspondence, there exists a constant action and reaction between the total external environment of man and the humors.³⁴ If Muslim physicians see much medical wisdom in the various injunctions of the *sharī'a* that we have previously

³³For a more detailed discussion of the humoral constitution of the human body, see S. H. Nasr, *Islamic Science*, pp. 159-62; also his *Science and Civilization in Islam*, pp. 219-25.

³⁴According to Muslim physicians, there are six fundamental external factors of health of the individual: breathing, eating, bodily rest and movement, sleep, emotional rest, and excretion and retention (including the effects of sexual intercourse).

discussed, it is because they see them as the means which enable man to live in harmony within himself and with his external environment.

It is significant that in our own times a number of individual physicians in the Indian subcontinent have sought to verify the truth of the above correspondence by making use of modern scientific discoveries. They argued, for example, that if the human body is really a microcosm then it should possess all the elements that are present in the macrocosm. According to the latest study conducted by one of these scholars, eighty-one elements, out of a total of ninety-two that are known to occur naturally, are found to be present in the human body.³⁵

As we have said, in Islam the human body is not only studied from biomedical and scientific points of view. The body is far from being only of interest to the physicians since its meanings are not exhausted by man's physical and biomedical understanding of it no matter how far that understanding may reach. Even when the body is studied by Muslim physicians from the biomedical point of view, it is never viewed as a kind of machine which is functioning autonomously. Rather, they see the body of man as an extension of his soul and as being related to both the spirit and the soul. That is why many of them were masters of psychosomatic medicine and psychology. For example, al-Rāzī, the Latin Rhazes, wrote a work entitled *Spiritual Physick*³⁶ in which he discussed the various moral and psychological illnesses which ruin the mind and the body and ways in which these ailments might be overcome.

If the human body is also of great interest to the philosophers, theologians, and Šūfis, that is because it is a great treasure of wisdom and of symbols which point to other levels of reality. Those biomedical facts about the body which are of great utility to the physicians, especially anatomy and physiology, also include numerous symbolisms which demonstrate to us that the wisdom of the Creator pervades the whole creation. The Qur'ān speaks of the human body as one of the "signs of God." In other words, knowledge of the body necessarily leads man to the knowledge of God. We have already quoted al-Ghazālī's assertion of this view. According to the Ikhwān

³⁵See S. B. Vohora, "Is the Human Body a Microcosm?: A Critical Study," *Studies in History of Medicine*, 5.1 (March, 1981).

³⁶See Rhazes, *The Spiritual Physick of Rhazes*, trans. A. J. Arberry (London, 1950).

al-Ṣafā', man cannot know within his own lifetime the whole universe by going around and studying it, but God, in his Wisdom, has placed everything in the universe in man himself. Thus, by studying himself man can come to the knowledge of all things.³⁷ The Ikhwān maintained that the study of the anatomy and physiology of the human body is a key to the knowledge of the power and wisdom of the Creator. By making use of numerical symbolism they established a correspondence between the anatomy of the human body and that of the heavens. But they also saw a striking analogy between the body and the terrestrial world. In those physical features of man which distinguish him from the other animals, the Ikhwān see a spiritual significance. For example, man's vertical position is described as symbolizing an ontological and metaphysical ascent and the yearning of man to reach toward the spiritual world.

Al-Fārābī, generally regarded as the founder of political philosophy in Islam, made use of the symbolism of human anatomy to explain his theory of human society. There is an analogy between the interrelation of the bodily organs and that of the components of the traditional human society. In this context, Muslim scholars generally refer to the body as the kingdom of the heart and speak of it as being analogous to a great city. Famous Ṣufis like Ibn 'Arabī, al-Jīlī, and Nasafī have dealt with the idea of the body as the "temple" of the spirit. And Rūmī, the great mystical poet of Islam, making such references to the human body as the "whale of Jonah" and as the "shadow of the shadow of the shadow of the heart," and while maintaining that both body and spirit are necessary and good, sees in the contrasting nature and qualities of the body effective examples of illustrating the true nature of the spirit.³⁸

We wish to conclude our discussion of the human body in the Islamic perspective with a few remarks about the symbolism of the male and female bodies. When earlier touching on the question of the traditional female dress, we have made the remark that the female body symbolizes certain aspects of the divine reality. Now, the profoundest spiritual message of the human body is a consequence of the fact that the human being is a theomorphic being who reflects God's names and qualities. Insofar as the male and female are both

³⁷S. H. Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, p. 98.

³⁸See W. C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Love: The Spiritual Teachings of Rumi*, (Albany, 1983), pp. 28-31.

human, they symbolize the same truths concerning the divine.³⁹ But insofar as there is a polarization of the human form into the male and the female, they symbolize different aspects of the divinity. The female is said to symbolize the uncreated aspect of God and indeed it is of much significance that the Arabic word for divine essence (*dhāt*) is in the feminine form. The male, on the other hand, is said to symbolize God as Lord and Creator. According to Ibn 'Arabī, the contemplation of God in woman constitutes the highest form of contemplation possible. In Islamic spirituality, sexuality is mainly seen in its positive aspect although its negative aspect is certainly not ignored as made very clear by the strict injunctions of the *sharī'a* concerning the relationship between the sexes. Sexual union, which is a sacred act when kept within the bounds of the *sharī'a*, becomes for the contemplative a symbol of that beatific union originally possessed by the androgynic ancestor of humanity in the paradisaal state. These few remarks are intended to highlight the fact that there were great representatives of Islamic spirituality who attach the profoundest spiritual significance to the sexual aspects of the human body.

Not all the views concerning the human body found in Islam have been mentioned. Those we have mentioned are only treated in a rather scanty manner. It is, however, hoped that the above discussion will contribute to a better appreciation of the Islamic views of man in general and of the human body in particular. This will in turn lead to a better appreciation of the nature and characteristics of the Islamic response to contemporary bioethics insofar as that response is going to be, and has been, determined by Islam's views of man and of the human body.

³⁹On the spiritual message of the male and female bodies in Islam, see S. H. Nasr, "The Male and Female in the Islamic Perspective," *Studies in Comparative Religion*, pp. 67-75. For a treatment of this subject from the points of view of the various religious traditions, including that of Islam, see F. Schuon, *From the Divine to the Human* (Bloomington, 1982), the chapter entitled "The Message of the Human Body."

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Jews, Christians, and Muslims According to the Qur'ān

ABDULAZIZ A. SACHEDINA

IN THIS PAPER I PROPOSE to examine the Qur'ānic references to the believers—the Muslims, and the People of the Book—the Christians and the Jews in the context of their response to the message from God in the form of “guidance” (*hudā* and *hidāya*) sent through the prophets. The Qur'ān makes numerous references to the Old and New Testament religious personalities who had come to different peoples and nations at different times with a revealed scripture. All these messages, according to the Qur'ān, emanate from a single source, and are universal and identical. Accordingly, human beings have the responsibility to believe in the divine message and act according to its requirements. It is within the context of such a responsibility that human beings are obligated to accept God's religion and prophethood as the source of “guidance” to the life of “prosperity.”

“Guidance” in the Qur'ān is constitutive of God's purpose in creating human beings. There is in the world, “for those who reflect,” a moral purpose—a purpose which will be fulfilled in the Last Judgment:

By the soul; and that which shaped it and inspired it to [know the difference between] lewdness and Godfearing! Prosperous is he who purifies it, and failed has he who seduces it [91.7-8].

In order for human beings to attain the purpose for which they are created, they need to be adequately guided. Thus, God, according to this verse, has endowed human beings with the necessary cognition

and volition to further their comprehension of the purpose for which they are created and to realize it by using their knowledge. Moreover, the verse also makes it plain that the distinction between "lewdness" (evil) and "Godfearing" (good) is ingrained in the soul in the form of "inspiration," a form of "guidance" with which God has favored human beings. It is through this "guidance" that human beings are expected to develop the ability to judge their actions and to choose that which will lead them to prosperity. But this is not an easy goal to achieve. It involves spiritual and moral development, something that is most challenging in the light of the basic human weaknesses indicated by the Qur'ān:

Surely man was created fretful,
when evil visits him, impatient,
when good visits him, grudging [70.19-20].

Humanity, the Qur'ān shows, was created as God's vicegerent; was given "trust" (*amāna*), so as to live purposively in the world and to exercise authority over creation with justice:

Lo! We offered the trust unto the heavens and the earth and the hills, but they shrank from bearing it and were afraid of it. And man assumed it [33.72].

This trust makes human beings the agents of God in relation to the creation. It also, of course, implies that there is a standard of correct behavior and of governance which humanity is to follow to attain "prosperity." The tragedy, according to the Qur'ān, is that humanity has not lived up to its office; has not, by and large, submitted to following the "guidance" which God has proffered. Human beings assumed the *amāna*. But, "Lo! He hath proved a tyrant and a fool" (33.72).

This human weakness reveals a basic tension that must be resolved by further acts of "guidance" by God. It is at this point that God sends the prophets and the "Books" (revealed messages) to show human beings how to change their character and bring it to conformity with the divine plan for human conduct:

That is the Book, wherein is no doubt, a guidance to Godfearing. Those rely upon guidance from their Lord. Those are ones who prosper [2.2,5].

“Guidance” from God signifies the “direction” He provides to procure that which is desirable, first by creating in the soul a disposition that can guard against spiritual peril, if a person hearkens to its warnings, and then, by further strengthening this natural guidance through the Book and the Prophet. “Guidance” signifying “showing the path” is a fundamental feature of the Qur’ān and is reiterated throughout to emphasize the fact that this form of guidance is not only part of normative human nature, but is also “universal” and available to all who aspire to become “Godfearing” and “prosperous.”

However, human beings can reject this “guidance,” although they cannot produce any valid excuse for the rejection. Still, rejection pertains to the “procuring” or appropriating of that which is desirable, and not to the act of apprehending in the first place what is desirable. Thus, when God denies “guidance” to those who do not believe in his revelations (16.104), the denial pertains to the procurement of the desirable end, and *not* to the initial guidance that is originally engraved upon the hearts of all human beings. The verse 4.70: “And we guide them to a straight path” points to the “guidance” signifying the procurement of the good end. It implies that this guidance is available to an individual after that person has consented to lead a life of uprightness (*taqwā*). In another place, the Qur’ān makes even more explicit that this latter aspect of “guidance” enables a person to achieve that which is desirable:

Whomsoever God desires to guide, he expands his breast to *Islam* [to submit himself to the will of God in order to procure the desirable goal]; whomsoever he desires to lead astray [because of his personal choice not to “submit”] he makes his breast narrow, tight, as if he were climbing to heaven. So God lays admonition upon those who believe not [6.125].

It becomes evident, then, that the Qur’ān is speaking about two forms of “guidance.” As a matter of fact, all the exegetes in their commentaries on verse 2.2, “That is the Book wherein is no doubt, a guidance to the Godfearing,” distinguished the two forms in response to the question as to why the Book should be revealed as “guidance” to the Godfearing, for they have presumably already attained guidance in order to become “Godfearing” in the first place. The first form is the one by which means an individual becomes

“Godfearing” (*muttaqī*), while the second form is the one which God bestows *after* the attainment of “piety” or “moral consciousness” (*taqwā*). This latter “guidance” helps the individual to remain unshakable when encountering the unbelievers and the hypocrites. *Taqwā*, which is “keen, spiritual and moral perception and motivation,” is a comprehensive attribute that touches all aspects of faith, when faith is put into practice.

However, human beings can reject faith, and that results in “misguidance” (*iqlāl*). It is important to note that the Qur’ān considers “misguidance” or “leading astray” as God’s activity in response to unsatisfactory actions or attitudes on the part of the individuals who have chosen to reject the faith. As such, they deserve it:

How shall God guide a people who have disbelieved after they believed. . . . God guides not the people of evildoers [3.86]. Surely those who disbelieve after they have believed and then increase in unbelief—their repentance shall but be accepted; those are the ones astray [3.90].

The above passage implies human responsibility for being led astray. Human beings are given the choice to accept or reject the faith and bear the consequences of their choice. However, the Qur’ān makes frequent reference to the effect that:

They [the unbelievers] say: “What did God desire by this for a similitude?” Thereby he leads many astray, and thereby he guides many; and thereby he leads none astray save the ungodly such as break covenant of God . . . [2.24-26].

This verse imputes the responsibility of “leading astray” to God. The Muslim exegetes have correctly distinguished between two kinds of “misguidance” so as to explicate statements of this nature. The first kind of “misguidance” follows from the choice made by an individual. It causes corrupt attributes such as disbelief (*kufr*) and hypocrisy (*nifāq*), whereas the second kind of “misguidance” confirms these attributes in that person. This is the point of the following verse:

In their heart is a sickness, and God has increased their sickness, and there awaits them a painful chastisement for that they have cried lies [2.10].

The first kind of "sickness" is imputed to the person, implying a willful act which results in spiritual affliction, while the second stage of "sickness" is imputed to God who "caused their hearts to swerve when they swerved" (61.5). This means that God does not guide the people who have neglected to respond to "universal guidance" ingrained in the human soul (91.7), by means which human beings could have helped themselves to understand their true role on earth.

From the above observations about the "guidance" and "misguidance" it would be accurate to visualize people who possess *taqwā*—as being situated between the "universal guidance," and the "revelational guidance." In other words, being equipped with the necessary cognition and volition, they are ready to follow the commands of God to attain "prosperity." On the other hand, the "unbelievers" and the "hypocrites" can be visualized as being situated between the two forms of "misguidance." By having allowed the "heart" to become "sick," they have allowed correct judgment and the sharp sense of personal responsibility to become dull.

Since the question of "guidance" is related to the question of the source of knowledge of ethical values, in the classical as well as modern works on the Qur'ānic exegesis, we have taken some care to explicate the various forms of guidance in the Qur'ān. Significantly, it is at this point that theological differences become explicitly marked. These differences, as pointed out earlier in our brief remarks about the Mu'tazilī and Ash'arī theological standpoints, are rooted in two conflicting conceptions of human responsibility. The Mu'tazila, who emphasized the complete responsibility of human beings, upheld the concept of human free will in responding to the call of both natural guidance as well as guidance through revelation. On the other hand, the Ash'arī, who upheld the omnipotence of God, denied man any role in responding to divine guidance. As a matter of fact, according to them, it was impossible for a individual to accept or reject faith unless God willed it. Nevertheless, the Qur'ān undoubtedly contains a complex view of human responsibility. It allows both for human decision and divine omnipotence in the matter of guidance.

Actually, the concept of "universal guidance" has wider implications than merely demonstrating the existence of volitional capacity in the human soul (91.7), and proving human responsibility as regards developing a keen sense of spiritual and moral perception and motivation. It appears that the Qur'ān regards humanity as one nation in reference to "universal guidance" ("prior" [*sābiqa*] guidance),

before “particular guidance” through revelation (“subsequent” [lāḥiqā] guidance) was sent:

The people were one nation; then God sent forth Prophets, good tidings to bear and warning, and he sent down with them the Book with the truth, that he might decide between the people touching their differences [2.213].

God’s “universal guidance” treats all human beings as equal and potentially believers in him before they become distinguished through the particular “guidance” as believers, unbelievers, hypocrites, and so on.

The verse 2.213 also points to divine mystery in dividing humanity into communities and even recognizes Jews and Christians as such, although, they too were invited to “submit” to the will of God, *Islām*. Such a recognition on the part of the Qur’ān was based on the awareness that Jewish and Christian communities existed as exclusive religious groups just as the Muslim community did under the leadership of the Prophet Muḥammad:

The Jews say: The Christians stand not on anything; and they recite the Book [2.113].

And they [the Jews and the Christians] say: None shall enter Paradise except that they be Jews or Christians. Such are their fancies [2.111].

The Qur’ān’s rejection of these exclusivist claims is based on the very notion of “guidance,” namely, that “guidance” comes from God and he guides whom he wishes to guide. Hence, no community may regard itself as uniquely guided and elected. God has provided “guidance” out of his bounty for which humanity ought to give thanks.

On the basis of the notion of “universal guidance,” it is possible to speak of natural-moral ground of human conduct in the Qur’ān. These passages refer to an objective and universal moral nature on the basis of which all human beings are to be treated equally and held equally accountable to God. In other words, certain moral prescriptions follow from a common human nature, and are regarded as independent of particular spiritual beliefs, even though all practical guidance ultimately springs from the same source, namely, from

God. It is significant to note that the term the Qur'ān uses, for instance, to designate "goodness" (moral virtue)—with which all human beings are exhorted to comply—is *al-ma'rūf*, meaning the "well-known," "generally recognized" and even "universally accepted." In an extremely important passage, the Qur'ān recognizes the universality and objective nature of moral virtue ("goodness"), which transcends different religions and religious communities and admonishes humankind "to be forward in good work":

To every one of you [religious communities] we have appointed a law and a way [of conduct]. If God had willed, he would have made you all one nation [on the basis of that law and that way]; but [he did not do so] that he may try you in what has come to you; therefore, be you forward [i.e., compete with one another] in good works. Unto God shall you return all together; and he will tell you [the Truth] about what you have been disputing [5.48].

There is a clear assumption in this verse that certain basic moral requirements find all human beings, regardless of differences in religious beliefs. Interestingly enough, the ideal human being is conceived of as combining moral virtue with complete religious surrender:

Nay, but whosoever submits his will to God, while being a good-doer, his wage is with his Lord, and no fear shall be on them, neither shall they sorrow [2.112].

It is indeed in the realm of universal moral truth that human beings are treated equally and held equally accountable for responding to "universal guidance."

But, do human beings respond to divine "guidance," whether in its "universal" or "particular" form? This is the tragedy. Humanity has not, by and large, submitted to the Divine Will by following the guidance that God has proffered. The Qur'ān indicates that the answer to the problem of unbelief, of failure to respond to the guidance is tied to the narrow-mindedness and stupidity (self-cultivated) of human beings who do not reflect on the signs that come their way. Pre-occupied with worldly affairs, they do not see that their life and all that they have is given by the Beneficent and Merciful Lord to whom they will have to render an account on the Day of Reckoning. They live for the pleasure of the moment, not considering that the pleasures

of the next world (not to mention the punishments) will exceed their wildest dreams.

On the other hand, the Qur'ān also asserts the lordship of the sovereign God by indicating that God has the power and could, if he so willed, make unbelievers into believers (6.107). In other places the Qur'ān says that those who go astray have been led astray by God, while those who follow the "straight path" are able to do so because God helps them (2.6-7). These verses stand alongside those which indicate that humanity has been afforded all the power it needs to follow the way of truth. There are, moreover, those passages which evidently resolve the tension, indicating that those whom God has misled, he did so because they had already rejected him (59.19).

The relationship of this Qur'ānic treatment to the problem of unbelief, or failure to respond to God, was the object of intense discussion among Muslim scholars in the centuries following the establishment of the Islamic empire. It is not possible to take up these discussions in this paper. But for the present, it suffices to say that the problem of human persistence in unbelief and ingratitude is a major concern; even a preoccupation for the Qur'ān. Such unbelief became for the Qur'ān and its Messenger not only a denial of truth, to be punished on the Day of Judgment, but also a threat to the community of the faithful, to be subdued in the present, by the use of force, if necessary. The faithful are told in *sūrat al-tawba* (9) to fight the unbelievers; even to fight the peoples of the Book "until they pay the tribute readily," submitting to Islamic polity (9.29). The sense is that there is a growing need for security on the part of the Muslim *umma* which calls for armed resistance to the threat posed by those who do not share its faith. This move, it seems, is a part of the transition from Mecca to Medina; it is the movement from a minority and missionary religious movement to a community with power to shape the political and economic forces which affect its existence.

This focus on the problem of unbelief on the part of humanity in its religious and political dimensions serves to introduce a more specific analysis of the situational dimension of Islamic revelation. In what follows, I shall take up that dimension especially, though not exclusively, in relation to the *sūrat al-Baqara*, which is a unique example of the ways in which the Qur'ānic message indicates the responsibility of humanity to respond to divine guidance. It is this divine guidance that constitutes the situational dimension in this discussion.

The problem of unbelief, particularly on the part of the peoples of the Book, the Jews and Christians, is a concern of *al-Baqara* from its outset. This problem, and the various reflections to which it leads, can be traced through the *sūra* as follows: (1) establishment of God's claim; (2) the fact of unbelief; (3) exploration of causes of this fact (religious problem); (4) encouragement and guidance for the Muslims in relation to the problem (political problem). This set of reflections may be taken as a kind of reflection of the progressive nature of the problem of unbelief for the *umma*, from a more or less purely religious problem to a political threat which has bearing on the safety of the new community.

(1) Establishment of God's Claim

The Qur'ān speaks about signs of God's power and lordship in creation and in history. These are said to be confirmed, or human beings reminded of them, through the particular guidance of the prophets, the greatest of whom not only "warn" or "remind," but bring a "book," a scripture. If the "universal guidance" is enough to establish responsibility, the "particular guidance" through the revelation intensifies God's claims considerably. This is so because the Qur'ān is, according to 2.2. "the Scripture wherein there is no doubt, a guidance unto those who ward off (evil) . . ." It is, then, a guidance which is clear and full; it is worthy of the faith which it promises will be rewarded. This is the faith of those:

Who believe in the unseen, and establish worship, and spend of that we have bestowed upon them;

And who believe in that which is revealed unto thee [Muḥammad] and that which was revealed before thee, and are certain of the Hereafter. These depend on guidance from their Lord. These are the successful [2.2-5].

The indubitability of the Qur'ān as the guidance of God through the Prophet establishes the divine claim to human response.

(2) The Fact of Unbelief

But all do not respond, of course. Some resist the messenger of God, presenting him and those who submit with a religious and political problem of the first order. This is especially true for the Peoples

of the Book, whose reception of previous prophecy should, according to the Qur'ān, make them more aware of God, and more able to recognize the marks of true prophecy—namely, Muḥammad's. Their continued resistance, especially in the case of the Jewish tribes at Medina, developed into a problem which could not be resolved except through political action. Similarly, the opposition of the Meccan tribes was increasingly as a political problem, or a religious and moral problem which called for political action. The distinctions and relationship between these two dimensions are the points of (3) and (4) below.

(3) Religious Problem

As a religious problem, unbelief is, in a sense, beyond the jurisdiction of the Muslim community and its Prophet. Belief and its opposite may be construed as the work of God, who is merciful and compassionate, but also the Sovereign Lord of the Worlds. Thus 2.6-7 of the Qur'ān states:

As for the unbelievers, whether thou warn them or thou warn them not it is all one for them; they believe not.

God hath sealed their hearing and their hearts, and on their eyes there is a covering. Theirs will be an awful doom.

At the same time, unbelief can be malicious—a kind of free action on the part of human beings who think to deceive God, or to deprive him of his right. It is even possible for such to attempt a deception of greater dimensions by feigning faith when it is not their true posture:

And of mankind are some who say, We believe in God and the Last Day, when they believe not.

They think to beguile God and those who believe, and they beguile none save themselves; but they perceive not. In their hearts is a disease, and God increaseth their disease. A painful doom is theirs because they lie [2.8-10].

Here the action of God simply confirms choices already made. In other words, God entrenches one in the position one has taken.

The unbelief of Medinan Jews is the opposite case. For *al-Baqara*, while maintaining the mystery of God's involvement in unbelief to a certain extent, places greater stress on Jewish responsibility for deceit and wrongdoing, both historically and in the present. Thus, in the verses from which the *sūra* takes its name, a story is told in which Moses, faced with the unbelief of his people, is able to answer question after question about a cow which is to be sacrificed as a sin offering (2.67ff.). In 2.72-73, this historic prophet gives further demonstration for the unbelieving, taking a portion of the sacrifice and using it to bring a murdered man back to life. But the response of Israel, says *al-Baqara*, was not faith: they were hardened and their hearts "became as rocks, or worse than rocks, for hardness" (2.74). To the Prophet and the believers, then, God says:

Have ye any hope that they will be true to you when a party of them used to listen to the Word of God, then used to change it, after they had understood it, knowingly [2.75]?

The notion of treachery is thus extended to the realm of morality—it is not only that these unbelievers are untrue to God; they are such in relation to the Prophet and his community, as well. The discussion builds to the higher and higher levels of accusation: the Jews of Medina are accused of deceit in verses 76 and 77. Their knowledge of Torah is impugned in verse 78, where it is said that many know it only by hearsay; and in verse 79 their leaders, those who should know the Book, are accused of changing it or making up portions for the sake of petty profits. In succeeding verses, the punishment of God is promised to such persons. The Jews are described as cursed for their unbelief (88); they begrudge the fact that God should reveal himself "unto whom he will" (90). Finally, the accusation reaches a fever of pitch in verses 91-93:

And when it is said unto them (i.e. the Jewish tribes): Believe in that which God hath revealed, they say: We believe in that which was revealed unto us. And they disbelieve in that which cometh after it, though it is the truth confirming that which they possess.

Say [unto them, O Muḥammad]:

Why then slew ye the Prophets of God aforetime, if ye are [indeed] believers? And Moses came unto you with clear proofs [of God's sovereignty], yet, while he was away, ye chose the calf [for worship] and ye were wrongdoers.

And when he made with you a covenant and caused the Mount to tower above you, [saying]: Hold fast by that which We have given you, and hear [Our Word], they said: We hear and we rebel. And [worship of] the calf was made to sink into their hearts because of their rejection [of the covenant]. Say [unto them]: Evil is that which your belief enjoineeth on you, if ye are unbelievers.

Jewish unbelief, then, refers to the deceit, pride, and hardness of heart said to be characteristic of that people's relationship with God and his prophets. Their unbelief is ultimately rebellion against God, and is thus subject to his judgment, which may be executed in this world or the next (verses 98, 10, 27, 39, 79, 81, and 85).

(4) *Political Problem*

This is the problem of unbelief with moral and political dimensions. *Al-Baqara* indicates that various kinds of action are appropriate, on the part of the Prophet and the Muslim community. The interesting fact to observe here is that the more the moral aspects of the problem are stressed, the more the use of force as a form of political action is indicated.

The first form of action appropriate to the Muslim community may be summarized in terms of "steadfastness" (*ṣabr*). This response is indeed implicit throughout *al-Baqara*, as believers are exhorted through the promise of God's favor, in opposition to the curses promised for the unbelievers. It is explicitly present in the verses on trials (verses 153ff.):

O ye who believe! Seek help in steadfastness and prayer. Lo! God is with the steadfast.

"Steadfastness," one may say, is a "keeping on" or "continuing" in God's way. It is a reminder that one belongs to God; comes from him and will return to him. And it is this reminder which God will reward: "remember me; I will remember you" (152). In sum, it is continued trust in him and adherence to his guidance.

The second action given for the Muslims in the face of unbelief is more readily thought of as political than “steadfastness.” It is symbolized in the change of *qibla*—the direction of prayer. Particularly in relation to Jewish unbelief, this alteration in Muslim patterns is significant as a proclamation of independence from the worship and, in a sense, the way of believing of that older community of faith. The change is justified in *al-Baqara* through an appeal to God’s sovereignty and to the deviance of the Jewish community from the straight path. Thus, if it be said that the changing of the *qibla* from Jerusalem to Mecca is an alteration of a previously revealed pattern, then:

Such of our revelations as we abrogate or cause to be forgotten, we bring (in place) one better or the like thereof.

Knowest thou not that God is able to do all things [2.106].

As a matter of fact, true revelation affirms that Abraham, the forebearer of those who believe and the example of true faith (the faith that is summarized in the term Islam, and which is not, or at least not exclusively to be defined in Jewish or Christian terms) and his son Ishmael, established the Ka’ba at Mecca as a place of worship. Muslims, then, do not need to follow the precedent set by Jews or Christians. They are to be followers of “the religion of Abraham” (verses 124-29, 136). Challenges to the place of Mecca in God’s plan are answered in this manner:

Dispute ye with us concerning God when he is our Lord and your Lord? Our works are our works and yours are your works. We look to him alone:

Or, say ye that Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes were Jews or Christians [2.139-40]?

The change in *qibla* is finally justified with the claim that “unto God belong the East and the West” [2.142, 115, and 177]. It is, in one sense, not the kind of change in practice which is calculated to bring about the collapse of relations between the *umma* and other peoples of the Book who do not recognize the claims of the Qur’ān. Thus, the Qur’ān declares that this is not the most significant point of religion, for “each has a goal toward which he turneth; so vie with

one another in good works. Wheresoever ye may be, God will bring you together” (2.148). However, in the context in *al-Baqara*’s stress on unbelief, and in particular Jewish unbelief, the change of direction is definitely a form of political action calculated to dissociate the Muslims from the Jewish tribes, and to emphasize the standing of Islam as a way independent of the practices of these tribes. The claim is, as through the Qur’ān, that Muḥammad’s message is truly consistent with that of the former prophets, and that differences between the Prophet of the Muslims and the Peoples of the Book are due to the departure of the latter from the straight path.

It is possible, however, for unbelief to take on actively hostile aspects, in relation to the community of faith—to be perceived as a threat which is aggressively seeking to harm the *umma* and its members. When this is emphasized, the Qur’ān justifies the use of force; even, commands it. In verses 190ff. we read:

Fight in the way of God against those who fight against you, but begin not hostilities. Lo! God loveth not aggressors.

And slay them wherever ye find them, and drive them out of the places whence they drove you out, for persecution is worse than slaughter.

Reluctance to fight, which may be understood in terms of the priority of the rule against killing, is overcome by the security needs of a community which is presented as persecuted and outnumbered. Muslims are urged to spend their wealth and even their lives in support of such fighting (e.g. verses 195 and 245). God has promised to reward those investing in the effort. The one who makes the “goodly loan” does so that God may “give it increase manifold.” Those who lose their lives in the cause are really not dead—“Nay, they are living” (153). And even superior numbers of the enemy’s side should not frighten the Muslims, as *al-Baqara* recalls the story of David and Goliath (243-51).

Consequently, against the aggressively hostile unbelief of the Meccan Arabs (as in 191: “they drove you out”), the Muslims are commanded to fight. This command connotes an overriding of the normal prohibitions against killing. It is also given in such a way that it overrides certain rules about times and places of fighting which are tied to religious duties. For instance, in verse 191, following the justification for warfare in cases of persecution, the Qur’ān commands:

Fight not with them at the Inviolable Place of Worship until they first attack you there, but if they attack you (there) then slay them. Such is the reward of disbelievers.

Similarly in verse 194:

The forbidden month for the forbidden month, and forbidden things in retaliation. And one who attacketh you, attack him in like manner as he attacked you. Observe your duty to God, and know that God is with those who ward off (evil).

The above passages are meant to convey that the security needs of the Muslim community, and the demands of justice in verse 194, can override even certain religious obligations. The “Inviolable Place of Worship,” for instance, signifies the Ka’aba, established by Abraham as a place of worship and by the Qur’ān as the *qibla* for Muslims. Indeed, pre-Islamic Arab culture regarded all Mecca, and the area surrounding it, as *ḥaram* (“inviolable”) and killing was prohibited there and still is. Similarly, pre-Islamic Arabia regarded certain months of the year as *ḥaram*, and these were observed as “truce” months, for the sake of economic transactions and the making of pilgrimages.

When unbelief threatens the existence of faith, however, such customary religious observances are overridden. One does whatever is necessary to stop aggression—even, it is implied, customary rules of warfare may be overridden at such a time. Once that aggression occurs, survival of the just community dictates a response, governed by the *lex talionis* (“one who attacketh you, attack him in like manner,” verse 194) until the aggressors desist:

If they desist, then lo! God is Forgiving, Merciful. And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is for God. But if they desist, then let there be no hostility except against wrongdoers [2.192-93].

Thus, the just community, which is steadfast to God and receptive of his guidance, may fight to defend itself and thus to establish justice (or perhaps, to reestablish a violated justice) in the face of aggressive unbelief. The qualities of that just community are specified in the long verse in which Muslims are provided with guidance

in reference to a number of life-situations. Verse 177 speaks of the characteristics of the “righteous” who have accepted divine guidance:

Righteous is he who believeth in God and the Last Day and the angels and the Scripture and the Prophets; and giveth his wealth, for love of him, to kinsfolk and to orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and to those who ask, and to set slaves free; and observeth proper worship and payeth the poor-due. And those who keep their treaty when they make one, and the patient in tribulation and adversity and time of stress. Such are they who are sincere. Such are the Godfearing.

It is important to point out that such “righteousness” is regarded as a possibility among the followers of other Books. As a result, consistent with its rejection of exclusivism and election, the Qur’ān acknowledges the existence of righteous people in other communities who can expect to be saved:

Surely those that believe [the Muslims], and those of Jewry, and the Christians, and those Sabaeans, whoso believe in God and the Last Day, and work righteousness—their wage awaits them with their Lord, and no fear shall be on them, neither shall they sorrow [2.62].

It is with this recognition of universal goodness, with belief in one God and the Last Day, that whole question of faith has been treated in the Qur’ān, where humanity is held responsible to respond actively to the “universal” as well as “particular” guidance. All humanity is called upon to “compete in goodness” and produce the best community on earth (5.48).

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to specific themes or forms of language used by one class of writers or another.

The concise and precise examination of Byzantine literature by Ševčenko deals with nearly every kind of Byzantine literary work from the fourth century to the fifteenth. But there is hardly any mention in this essay of hymnography—the ecclesiastical poetry which was one of the outstanding forms of Byzantine poetry. He states, however, that he will treat this subject more fully in another essay. Also, nothing is said about the voluminous theological writings that figured prominently in the Byzantine world.

Indeed, Professor Ševčenko indicates, as noted earlier, that the religious themes, used so profusely and intensely by the Byzantines, may not be of great interest to the modern reader. But the Byzantine writers were not writing to please *our* literary tastes of today, ten or fifteen centuries later. As in other nations, the writers treated subjects they considered worthy and proper for themselves and their countrymen. They pursued faithfully that which provided interest in their era. How else could they represent their times and remain true to life? One hopes, however, that the misconceptions about Byzantine literature and its neglect by the modern world may be somewhat rectified by this excellent essay of Professor Ihor Ševčenko.

434-437

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G.O.T.R. 31 (86).

John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late Fourth Century. By Robert L. Wilken. Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 1983. Pp. xvii + 190. Cloth, \$25.00.

Contemporary Christians and Jews have been involved in dialogue and mutual study to review past relations in order to give impetus to a new atmosphere of respect for each other's tradition. An event, however, that has plagued the Christian past is the preaching of eight homilies by John Chrysostom entitled *Against the Judaizers*.

Saint John Chrysostom is venerated by the Orthodox Christian Church for his commentaries and sermons, that is, for his eloquent interpretation of the message of the Gospel as well as for his martyrdom and commitment to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Chrysostom is

the one person who exemplified love for and devotion to the applied moral teachings of Christianity. Numerous works have been written in praise of Saint John's acts of charity and social welfare as well as compassion for his flock. Also numerous references have been made in recent years to his preaching against the Jews. However few books have been written to present the historical background of his preaching *Against the Judaizers*. The present work claims to fill the gap by addressing the larger question of the fourth century, that is, the relation of Christianity to Judaism and Hellenism.

Saint John Chrysostom, the greatest preacher of the early Church, called the "golden mouth" (Chrysostom), received an excellent education in rhetoric under the famous teacher Libanios. After the completion of his studies, he turned to be a servant in the Church. Though he desired to be a monk, he refrained from going to the desert because of the death of his father and his mother's need for him at home. Nonetheless, Chrysostom devoted himself to the service of the church of Antioch and later entered the priesthood.

As a young presbyter, John served in Antioch, a pluralistic society made up of pagans, Jews, heretical (Arian) Christians, and Orthodox Christians.

In fourth-century Antioch, the Jews were numerous, well educated, and an affluent class. Many Christians of Antioch were attracted to Judaism and so they observed certain Jewish laws and participated in the fellowship of the synagogue. The presence of Judaism and especially the participation of Christians in the Jewish synagogue gave the impression to the general public that Christianity was false and that the Jewish religion was true. Christian leaders became alarmed and began to offer a defense of the Christian Church which they believed to be the legitimate heir of the Scriptures.

Christian leaders of the time of Chrysostom also lived under the persecution and philosophical offensive of the apostate emperor Julian who was raised as a Christian, but as a pagan attacked Christianity. He declared that the Christians departed from Judaism and that they violated the Scriptures and observance of the Law of Moses. In order to offer legitimacy to the Jewish claims, he announced his decision to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem and return the city to the Jews who celebrated the news with joy. The rebuilding of the Temple was also meant to prove false Jesus' prophecy concerning its destruction. For John and the Christians of the fourth century, the restoration of the Temple meant the falsification of the Christian Gospel. Many

Christians, especially women, also felt attracted to attend the synagogue to receive its blessings.

Saint John Chrysostom, the young presbyter, with great enthusiasm and vigor rose up in the pulpit to meet the challenge and danger the Church faced. He used the rhetorical skills learned from Libanios to win over those who had defected. The rhetors of the time had at their disposal hyperbole and exaggeration, that is, the tendency to overstate and magnify in order to persuade their audience to their point of view. John did exactly that. He used excess and metaphors to show the danger of the attacks upon the Church. One of the most common styles of rhetoric was the technique of invective (*psogos*) that was intended to denigrate and defame. This method was used with restraint by Chrysostom in his sermons *Against the Judaizers*, and was meant to impress his listeners of the danger of the enemy.

Chrysostom, as mentioned above, used the invective (*psogos*) style to defend the Christian faith against pagans and Jews alike. Julian's attack on the Christian religion in his work *Against the Galilaeans* reminded the Christians also of the possibility of the danger of political action against them. The Jews and Julian had one thing in common: their attempt to falsify Christianity, to prove that Christ is not God, and that Christianity apostatized from Judaism.

Although Chrysostom spoke harshly against those members of the Church who had dual loyalty, that is, those who observed Christian and Jewish rites, he never advocated physical violence against the Jews. As a young presbyter he felt a strong missionary responsibility to protect his membership from defecting to Judaism. The author rightly points out that these sermons were later translated into Latin and their impact on Western Europe was different from John's intentions. The title usually referred to these sermons is *Against the Jews*. The correct title, however, is *Against the Judaizers*.

It is often forgotten that Chrysostom, as he advanced in age and wisdom, while patriarch of Constantinople, had kind words to say of the Jews in his other writings. John speaks with respect in his later writings for the Jews and the unique relationship that they have with God. Wilken however left out a great portion of Chrysostom's sympathetic rhetoric for the Jews. If he had given us an insight into this aspect of John's writings, the value of the book would have been greater and a help toward the understanding of a Christian rhetor of the fourth century. John was not so malignant against the Jews, but was upset with those Christians who betrayed the Gospel by having

dual loyalties and thus gave pagans the ammunition they needed to attack it. In spite of this weakness the book has great merit for a greater understanding of the complex society in which Chrysostom lived.

I enjoyed reading this book; it is first class scholarship. It is a full discussion on the background to Saint John Chrysostom's preaching against the Judaizers. The author brings many comparative statements from classical, biblical, and contemporary documents to illustrate the historical perspective of Chrysostom's writings. The book is historical, analytical, deeply insightful, and challenging to the modern reader. It is well written and on excellent paper making it easily readable. It is well documented, and includes an index and a bibliography which assists the reader in studying the subject further. The book is highly recommended to theologians and scholars for a greater understanding of the issues of the intense religious rivalry in the fourth century and a fresh look at Saint John Chrysostom.

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Repentance: Themes in Orthodox Patristic Psychology. Volume 3. By Bishop Chrysostomos of Oreoi. Etna, CA.: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1986. Pp. 50. Paperbound, \$5.00.

Repentance is the third in a four-part series entitled *Themes in Orthodox Patristic Psychology*. Its position in the series is purposeful in that the repentant way of life needs the support of the virtues, especially humility and obedience (the topics of the earlier books in this series), for success. A *positive* study of spirituality from the psychological viewpoint is not uncommon within the Orthodox tradition; but it is somewhat unique in the West, in that psychology and spirituality are often perceived as inimical to each other or, at best, uneasy allies. Perhaps a partial explanation for this situation in the West is that our psychology did not develop from an intentional focus on man's psyche, as the word "psychology" would imply, but as a spin-off from the rationalistic philosophies of the late nineteenth century.

Unlike much of today's pastoral counseling literature, which attempts to couple spirituality and psychology into an often artificial

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Let the Spirit Come: Lutheran Interpretation of the Holy Spirit

MARTHA ELLEN STORTZ

INTRODUCTION

But the Holy Spirit has called me through the Gospel, enlightened me with his gifts, and sanctified and preserved me in true faith, just as he calls, gathers, enlightens and sanctifies the whole Christian church on earth and preserves it in union with Jesus Christ in the one true faith. Martin Luther, *Small Catechism*, Explanation to the Third Article.¹

CALLS, GATHERS, ENLIGHTENS, SANCTIFIES, PRESERVES: these five verbs elaborate Luther's thinking on the work of the Spirit. The work of the Spirit was at the heart of Luther's debate with Rome, on the one hand, and with the radical reformers, on the other. The work of the Spirit was the subject of this *inter-ecclesial* Reformation controversy.

The work of the Spirit was also the subject of a more recent and *intra-ecclesial* controversy: discussion between charismatic and non-charismatic Lutherans. The work of the Spirit was the subject of much theological rumination during the 1970's, as Lutherans struggled to understand the Holy Spirit in the life of the church.

Both the Reformation and the contemporary controversies have similar issues: the role of the word of God in Scripture and the definition of the work of the Spirit. Both controversies have relatively little to say about the person of the Spirit. Who the Spirit is must be defined by extrapolation.

The paper proposes to examine both controversies in turn: first,

¹Theodore G. Tappert (ed.), *The Book of Concord* (Philadelphia, 1959), p. 345.

the inter-ecclesial debate: the debate between Luther and his contemporaries; then, the intra-ecclesial debate: the debate between charismatic and non-charismatic Lutherans. In this way we hope to present how Lutherans have understood confessing the apostolic faith with reference to the Holy Spirit.

THE INTER-ECCLESIAL CONTROVERSY: LUTHER AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

The occasion for Luther's thinking on the Holy Spirit is explication of the creeds of Christendom. The audience for his thought is the community of the faithful. The context for his thought is controversy with the Roman Catholic Church, on the one hand, and with the radical reformers, on the other.

This section proposes to examine occasion, audience, and context in the course of explicating Luther's thinking on the work and person of the Holy Spirit. The operative presupposition is that one best understands Luther's thinking on the Holy Spirit when one understands both (1) how Luther intends for the Triune God *to be presented* within the community of the faithful and (2) how he believes that the Triune God *is present* within the community of the faithful.

Catechetical instruction is the context for Luther's thinking. In the Large and Small Catechisms he states what he wants the congregations within his care to know about the Holy Spirit. Lutherans today may well want to say more and less than did Luther, but they must first be advised of the context in which Luther wrote. They must then examine the context in which they write today, as they struggle to confess the apostolic faith in a dangerous world.

The Book of Concord lists three symbols of the faith, or "creeds of the Christian faith which are commonly used in the church." These symbols are the Apostle's Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed. The Large and Small Catechisms explicate the creed most commonly used in the churches: the Apostle's Creed. Because the catechisms state explicitly the relationships between God and the creatures and between commandments and creeds, as well as the relationships between the three persons of the Trinity, these catechetical sections on the Apostle's Creed are helpful in understanding Luther on the apostolic faith.

Commandments and creeds are locked together. Commandments promulgate the imperative; creeds proclaim the indicative: "This is what we are to do, because this is what God does." Although the

Decalogue precedes the creed in each catechism, there is a soteriological priority of indicative over imperative. The statement of what God does grounds the commandment. The Small Catechism, for example, has a formulaic explanation for both the prescriptive (“thou shalt”) and the proscriptive (“thou shalt not”) commandments: “We should so fear and love God, that . . .” Then follows the commandment, which Luther characteristically states prescriptively and dispositionally. For example, the fifth commandment, the proscriptive “thou shalt not kill,” becomes a prescriptive injunction for neighbor-regard: “We should . . . help and befriend him in every necessity of life.”²

The commandments set forth everything that God expects of the creatures; the creeds set forth everything that the creatures can expect of God. The Large Catechism is adamant:

Thus far we have heard the first part of Christian doctrine. In it [the Decalogue] we have seen all that God wishes us to do or not to do. The creed properly follows, setting forth all that we must expect and receive from God; in brief, it teaches us to know him perfectly. M. Luther, *Large Catechism*, Second Part: the Creed.³

The presumption is that, were the creatures to know God perfectly, they would have the strength to keep the commandments. But the creatures do not know God perfectly, and they do not have the strength to keep God’s commandments.

If we could by our own strength keep the Ten Commandments as they ought to be kept, we would need neither the Creed nor the Lord’s Prayer. M. Luther, *Large Catechism*, Second Part: the Creed.⁴

Knowledge of God is three-fold: knowledge of God the creator, knowledge of God the redeemer, knowledge of God the sanctifier. Of the sanctifier the Large Catechism states:

But God’s Spirit alone is called Holy Spirit, that is, he who has sanctified and still sanctifies us. As the Father is called Creator

² Ibid. p. 343.

³ Ibid. p. 411.

⁴ Ibid.

and the Son is called Redeemer, so on account of his work the Holy Spirit must be called Sanctifier, the One who makes us holy. M. Luther, *Large Catechism*, Third Article.⁵

Here the distinction between person and work of the Spirit is made, but the text focuses on the work of the Spirit. Of the person of the Spirit little is said, other than that the Spirit is God's spirit. Other passages in the Book of Concord mention the procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, but there is little elaboration.

These passages addressing the *filioque* clauses are of note. In the first part of the Smalcald Articles, which treat "the sublime articles of the divine majesty," it is stated "that the Father was begotten by no one, the Son was begotten by the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son."⁶ In the Solid Declaration we see the procession of the Spirit stated in relationship to Christ.

But we believe, teach, and confess that God the Father gave his Spirit to Christ, his beloved Son, according to the assumed human nature (whence he is called Messiah, or the Anointed) in such a way that he received the Spirit's gifts not by measure, like other saints. The "Spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and might and knowledge" (Is 11.2, 61.1) does not rest upon Christ the Lord according to his assumed human nature (according to the deity he is of one essence with the Holy Spirit) in such a manner that as a man he therefore knows and can do only certain things in the way in which other saints know and can do things through the Holy Spirit who endows them only with created gifts. Rather, since Christ according to the Godhead is the second person in the holy Trinity and the Holy Spirit proceeds from him as well as from the Father (and therefore he is and remains to all eternity his and the Father's own Spirit, who is never separated from the Son), it follows that through personal union the entire fullness of the Spirit (as the ancient Fathers say) is communicated to Christ according to the flesh that is personally united with the Son of God.⁷

⁵ Ibid. p. 415.

⁶ "The Smalcald Articles," Part 1, in Tappert, p. 291.

⁷ "Solid Declaration," Article 8. Person of Christ, in Tappert, p. 605.

The status of the *filioque* is here not in question. Perhaps Lukas Vischer's observation is pertinent: "While the Reformers were very critical of many of the developments in medieval theology, the question of the *filioque* was not seriously raised in the sixteenth century."⁸ Vischer's remark may be pertinent, but it is not altogether correct. The status of the *filioque* was seriously raised in another sixteenth-century context: the context of discussion between Tübingen and Constantinople.

That discussion is beyond the scope of a paper limited to Luther's controversies with Rome and the radical reformers.⁹ It is, however, a critical chapter in ecumenical relations in the sixteenth century. As the Lutheran movement consolidated, its leaders made attempts to establish cordial relations with the Orthodox Church. A first attempt occurred when Philip Melanchthon wrote to the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople, Ioasaph II, in 1559. The patriarch responded immediately and sent Deacon Demetrios Mysos to meet with leaders of the Lutheran movement. Melanchthon and Mysos spent time together studying the Augsburg Confession, and a translation of the Confession in Greek was prepared. Mysos, however, failed to return to Constantinople and this ecumenical attempt was aborted. Contact with the Orthodox Church was reestablished in 1578. Lutheran Tübingen theologians under the leadership of Professor of Theology and University Chancellor Jacob Andreae initiated dialogue with Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremiah II. This correspondence resulted in an exchange of letters between Tübingen and Constantinople in which points of agreement and disagreement between the churches surfaced. One of the key points of disagreement was the *filioque* clause.

Jeremiah II argues from "true philosophy" and contrasts the nature of binity and trinity. The Tübingen theologians counter with scriptural arguments addressing the work of the Spirit in the forgiveness of sins (Jn 14.26, 15.26). They appeal to Christ's sending of the Spirit to justify the *filioque* clause. No consensus was reached on the point, perhaps because the arguments were incommensurable. From Tübingen the arguments move from the work of the Spirit as delineated in scripture to the necessity of the *filioque* clause. From

⁸ Lukas Vischer (ed.), *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ: Faith and Order Paper No. 103* (London, 1981), p. 6.

⁹ This analysis is indebted to Regin Prenter's masterful study, *Spiritus Creator* (Philadelphia, 1953), especially pp. 3-202.

Constantinople the arguments move from the person of the Spirit as illuminated by "true philosophy" and buttressed by synodical and conciliar judgments to rejection of the clause.

The Tübingen theologians of 1578 merely echo sentiments of earlier theologians. During the Reformation controversies themselves, questions concerning the *person* of the Spirit were not seriously raised. Questions concerning the *work* of the Holy Spirit, however, were at the core of the controversies between the Roman Catholic Church and the magisterial reformers and between the magisterial reformers and the radical reformers.

Luther's debates with "the papists," as he called them, on the one hand, and with "the enthusiasts," on the other, are debates about the *work* of the Spirit. It is critical to examine these debates. Only then can we assess Luther's thinking on the *person* of the Spirit and the status of the *filioque* clause.

Against the Papists

Luther's break with late medieval scholasticism can be construed as an extended debate over the work of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, Luther's arguments with Rome *must* be seen as debates over the work of the Holy Spirit in order more fully to understand the significance of his thinking on the Spirit. He charges the papists with abandoning the word of God in scripture and ignoring the Spirit.

As Luther assesses it, an Aristotelian metaphysics undergirds scholastic thinking. God was both first cause and final end of all creation. A strong natural law tradition stipulates complementarity between creaturely nature and divine supernature. The anthropological counterpart of divine causality is creaturely cooperation. Thus, creaturely nature is fitted to divine nature. The creatures are inexorably returning to the creator. The *exitus-reditus* schema of Saint Thomas' *Summa Theologica* reflects this causality of divine nature and its complementarity with creaturely nature. God is the fixed point from which the creatures proceed and toward which the creatures return. The work of the Holy Spirit is to guide the procession of the creatures from God and to effect the creatures' return to God. The work of the Holy Spirit is to operate on and to cooperate with the creatures in their return to God.

Scholasticism sums up the work of the Holy Spirit with two words: *gratia* and *caritas*. The work of the Spirit is defined almost exclusively in terms of grace and charity. The Spirit infuses charity (*caritas*) into

the heart of the believer. *Caritas* raises nature to the supernatural level toward which it is tending and equips the believer for supernatural works. The Spirit's infusion of charity enables the creature to journey back to God. The path of this journey presupposes a congruity between self-love, love of friend and neighbor, and eventually a love of God in God's self.

Luther breaks with this tradition. He judges the Aristotelian metaphysics undergirding scholasticism too sterile and too dispassionate for his experience of God. He replaces the Aristotelian metaphysics with biblical revelation. Thus, the image of a metaphysical God, first cause and final end of all creation, recedes quickly behind a biblical God, whose divine wrath is as powerful as his love. There is only christological reconciliation. Both wrath and love, judgment and mercy are brought together in Christ. God is neither transcendent cause nor final end; God is the biblical God: real, personal, and anthropomorphic. Again, Luther elaborated christologically. Christ was the Word of God. All of Scripture was about Christ: *was Christum treibet*.

Rejecting the natural law tradition and its complementarity between creaturely and divine natures, Luther posited a radical discontinuity between creaturely and divine natures. Nature is vitiated by sin. No effort on the part of the creature can repair the break. Only Christ can repair it.

The creature is the fixed point in this soteriological drama. God is the moving, dynamic, personal God, reaching out in mercy and judgment. The crucifixion and resurrection of Christ chronicle the journey that God made to redeem a fallen humanity. The Holy Spirit is the continuing presence of God within the believer's life. The work of the Spirit, in short, is to present God; the Spirit is the presence of God. Luther sums up the whole of his thinking of the work of the Spirit in Romans 8.26 (RSV).

Likewise the Spirit helps us in our weakness; for we do not know how to pray as we ought, but the Spirit himself intercedes for us with sighs too deep for words.

For Luther, then, the work of the Spirit could be contained in the single biblical word *emanuel*: God with us. Christ is the God with us in redemption. The Spirit is the God with us in sanctification.

Luther rejects the *caritas* causality of scholastic metaphysics. Self-love, neighbor-love, and love of God in God's self are discontinuous.

So far from leading to love of God, self-love could lead only to self-hatred (*odium sui*), as the creature concurs with God's judgment of it as a sinner. It is in the midst of this anguish and hatred—Luther calls it *Anfechtung*—that the creature experiences God's mercy. Because of sin there is no analogy between self-love and divine love. Sin destroys any complementarity between human and divine natures; sin vitiates the natural law. Because of self-love's inexorable progression to self-hatred, love recedes in Luther's theology. It is replaced by faith, the greatest of the triad faith, hope, and love. Faith is believing in a God who was crucified and resurrected for the sins of the creature. Faith is believing in a God who is present daily through the work of the Spirit.

In sum, then, Luther charges scholasticism with having abandoned the word of God in Scripture and ignoring the Spirit. Luther discards the Aristotelian metaphysics with its divine-human complementarity and *caritas* causality. In its place he puts the biblical God: a personal, anthropomorphic deity whose judgment and mercy form the dialectic in which the believer wages the life of faith. Through the crucifixion and resurrection God establishes a presence with the creatures. Through the Holy Spirit God proclaims an ongoing presence within creation.

Against the Enthusiasts

Luther's arguments with the enthusiasts are surprisingly similar to his arguments against Rome.¹¹ "The heavenly prophets," as he called them, have also abandoned the word of God in Scripture and ignored the Spirit. Theirs is the error of Rome: presuming that the creature could of its own actions come to the creator. Worse in Luther's eyes is that the enthusiasts have inverted God's order of sanctification by placing the internal work of the Spirit before the external word of Scripture.

Now when God sends forth his holy gospel he deals with us in a twofold manner, first outwardly, then inwardly. Outwardly he deals with us through the oral word of the gospel and through material signs, that is, baptism and the sacrament of the altar. Inwardly he deals with us through the Holy Spirit, faith, and other gifts. But whatever their measure or order the outward factors should and must precede. The inward experience follows and is effected by the outward. God has determined to give the inward

to no one except through the outward.¹²

The enthusiasts, he says, have utterly "spiritualized" the interpretation of Scripture. But the human spirit is their hermeneutic for Scripture, not the Holy Spirit. The enthusiasts, he says, made the Holy Spirit the goal of human action. Luther criticizes Andreas Karlstadt: ". . . he wants to teach you, not how the Spirit comes to you, but how you come to the Spirit."¹³

At the outset, it must be admitted that the theological issues at stake are clouded by invective. Luther's intense animosity towards Thomas Muentzer and Andreas Karlstadt is barely above personal attack. Luther's revealing comparison of the reformers Melanchthon, Erasmus, Karlstadt, and himself is scathing:

Philip has substance and eloquence [*res et verba*]; Erasmus eloquence without substance [*verba sine re*]; Luther substance without eloquence [*res sine verbis*]; and Karlstadt neither substance nor eloquence [*nec res nec verba*].¹⁴

Thomas Muentzer is regarded as a full-scale representative of Satan.

Fortune would have it that whenever the holy Word of God blossoms forth Satan opposes it with all his might by employing, first of all, the fist and outrageous force. When this method proves unsuccessful, he attacks it with evil tongues and false spirits and teachings.¹⁵

Those who were slandered responded in kind. The title of Muentzer's treatise, "Highly provoked defense and answer against the spiritless, soft-living flesh at Wittenberg, which has befouled pitiable Christianity in perverted fashion by its theft of Holy Spirit," speaks for

¹²M. Luther, "Against the Heavenly Prophets," in Conrad Bergendoff (ed.), *Luther's Works: 40* (Philadelphia, 1958), p. 146.

¹³*Ibid.* p. 147.

¹⁴Cited in Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform: 1250-1550* (New Haven, 1980), p. 342, n. 7.

¹⁵M. Luther, "Letter to the Princes of Saxony Concerning the Rebellious Spirit," in *Luther's Works: 40*, p. 49.

itself.¹⁶ Throughout the treatise Muentzer refers to Luther as Doctor Liar, Cousin Steplightly, the poor Flatterer. Beneath all of this invective, however, are tough theological issues concerning the interpretation of Scripture and the work of the Spirit.

The enemies even agree on what these issues are. The most problematic issue is the relationship between Scripture and Spirit. Luther accuses the enthusiasts of inverting the order of sanctification and placing the Spirit before the word contained in Scripture. Luther argues that God deals with the creatures first outwardly, then inwardly; outwardly through word and sacrament, inwardly through the Holy Spirit, faith, and other gifts.¹⁷ For Luther external word, i.e., the word of God in Scripture, precedes internal calling. Karlstadt, however, "has as his purpose to reverse the order."¹⁸ Yet it is precisely Luther's order that Muentzer challenges in "The Prague Manifesto":

Yet all the days of my life (God knows, I lie not) I have never been able to get out of any monk or parson the true use of faith, about the profitableness of temptation [*Anfechtung*] which prepares for faith in the Spirit of the Fear of the Lord, together with the condition that each elect must have the Sevenfold Holy Ghost. I have not learned from any scholar the true Order of God which he has set in all creatures, not the least word . . .¹⁹

Citing Paul in 1 Corinthians 14.6 as his witness, Muentzer holds that the preacher must have a revelation before preaching the word. The Spirit enlightens the elect; the elect interprets the word of God in Scripture. For Muentzer this is the order of sanctification. Internal enlightenment precedes the external word.

A second issue between the enthusiasts and Luther is the matter of works. Throughout the various strains of radical Christian testimonies, there is a strong perfectionist ethic. Although the precise distinctions vary from community to community, the lives of the elect are distinctive. Muentzer is one of the most revolutionary. Suffering and death mark the lives of the elect, and he swears in "The Prague

¹⁶Thomas Muentzer, "A Highly Provoked Defense," in Lowell H. Zuck (ed.), *Christianity and Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 38-44.

¹⁷M. Luther, "Against the Heavenly Prophets," p. 146.

¹⁸Ibid. p. 147.

¹⁹T. Muentzer, "Prague Manifesto," in Zuck, p. 32.

Manifesto”: “In order to bring this truth to the light of day, I am ready to offer my life, if it be God’s will.”²⁰ Another radical reformer, Conrad Grebel, admonishes Muentzer. Grebel advocates withdrawal from the world instead of revolution and martyrdom. “Moreover, the gospel and its adherents are not to be protected by the sword, nor are they thus to protect themselves, which, as learn from our brother, is thy opinion and practice.”²¹ Within Grebel’s radical Christian communities the ban accomplishes internal discipline.

To Luther this all sounds like the works righteousness he had attacked in Rome. Attention to visible marks of election he attacks as a “new monkery.”²² For Luther the passion for a distinctive lifestyle constitutes an attempt to come to the Spirit, rather than letting the Spirit come to the believer. The enthusiasts’ appropriation of the Spirit enslaves the work of the Spirit to the works of a perfectionist ethic.

In response to the enthusiasts Luther gives the Spirit both more authority and less. In his order of sanctification the external word of God in Scripture precedes the Spirit. This move is to curb what he perceives to be the Spirit’s subjective appropriation by the enthusiasts. It could be seen to be a gesture of subordination; a more appropriate interpretation is that Luther filters everything through the word of God in Scripture. The Father presents the word from the Decalogue: “I am the Lord your God”; Christ is the incarnate Word; the Spirit is the word present and active in the individual believer and in the community of believers. Scripture presents the work of the Trinity; Scripture is the hermeneutical key to the Trinity. Luther grounds his thinking scripturally.

Luther charges the enthusiasts with abandoning the word of God in Scripture and ignoring the Spirit. He locates the work of the Spirit in Scripture, citing Romans 8.26. The Spirit activates, enlivens, and sustains the life of faith. His interpretative verbs in the Small Catechism are more precise: calls, gathers, enlightens, sanctifies, and preserves.

I believe that by my own reason or strength I cannot believe in Jesus Christ, my Lord, or come to him. But the Holy Spirit has called me through the Gospel, enlightened me with his gifts, and sanctified and preserved me in true faith, just as he calls, gathers,

²⁰Ibid. p. 34.

²¹Conrad Grebel, “A Letter to Thomas Muentzer,” in Zuck, p. 60.

²²M. Luther, “Against the Heavenly Prophets,” p. 81.

enlightens, and sanctifies the whole Christian church on earth and preserves it in union with Jesus Christ in the one true faith. In this Christian church he daily and abundantly forgives all my sins, and the sins of all believers, and on the last day he will raise me and all the dead and will grant eternal life to me and to all who believe in Christ. This is most certainly true.²³

The initial confession is witness to the work of the Spirit: "I believe . . . that I cannot believe." Impetus for belief comes from the Holy Spirit. Eliminated entirely is any action on the part of the believer. The proper relationship between Scripture and Spirit follows the statement of creaturely capacity and spiritual empowerment: "the Holy Spirit has called me through the Gospel." The gifts of the Spirit are given place but not priority within the spectrum of the Spirit's work: "enlightened me with his gifts." Sanctification is the task of making one holy; preservation, the task of keeping one holy.

But the believer is part of a community of faith, and the work of the Holy Spirit in the individual believer is set firmly within the context of that community. The Holy Spirit works in the individual Christian "just as he calls, gathers, enlightens, and sanctifies the whole Christian church on earth and preserves it in union with Jesus Christ in the one true faith." The critical dialectic between individual and community is set: the Spirit works with individuals within the context of a community.

Conclusion

Luther levels the same charge against both papists and enthusiasts: each has abandoned the word of God in Scripture and ignored the work of the Spirit. For Luther the error has serious consequences. First, each has truncated the work of the Spirit. Second, each has fallen into legalism and works righteousness. Finally, each has ignored the proper relationship between Spirit and Scripture.

The Work of the Spirit

As Luther sees it, the papists absolutize *gratia*; the enthusiasts absolutize the wrong spirit—the human spirit. Scholasticism restricts the Spirit to the operation of grace. The operation of divine grace,

²³M. Luther, "Small Catechism," Explanation to the Third Article, in Tappert, p. 345.

in turn, requires creaturely cooperation. A whole causal schema leading to works righteousness is erected. Thus, the Spirit's working is confined to sanctification. The enthusiasts, on the other hand, restrict the working of the Spirit to inspiring the elect. This strikes Luther as dangerously subjective and internal. The Spirit's working is confined to enlightenment. Luther prefers to anchor the interpretation of the Spirit's working on the external word. Against both sides Luther asserts that the Holy Spirit calls, gathers, enlightens, sanctifies, and preserves both the individual believer and the community of believers.

Legalism

Luther accuses both papists and enthusiasts of overestimating the efficacy of human actions. Both the *caritas* causality of the scholastics and the perfectionist ethic of the enthusiasts lead to works righteousness. Against both sides Luther asserts that the Spirit invades every aspect of the believer's life; the Spirit precedes every action, intention, and disposition. The Spirit is God's presence in the life of faith.

Scripture and Spirit

As Luther sees it, the papists ignore the relationship between Scripture and Spirit, substituting Aristotelian metaphysics for biblical revelation. The enthusiasts display equal ignorance, subordinating the Holy Spirit to the human spirit and subordinating the word of God in Scripture to both. Against his opponents Luther claims the primacy of the word of God in Scripture.

We would want to quarrel with Luther regarding his assessment of his opponents' opinions, the blatant name-calling he employs against them, and his *ad hominem* attack. But when we strip away the polemic, Luther's thinking on the work of the Holy Spirit emerges. Luther tried to ground his thinking scripturally. He surrounded all of creaturely being and doing with the working of the Spirit. The Holy Spirit was not God's efficient causality among the creatures, nor God's gift to the elect. Rather, the Spirit was nothing more, nothing less than God's presence among the believers.

Commandments state what the creatures can expect from God. The Third Article of the Apostle's Creed reassures the creature *that* it can expect God to be present. The Third Article further elaborates *how* it can expect God to be present: through the Holy Spirit who calls, gathers, enlightens, sanctifies, and preserves.

After elaborating Luther's thinking on the work of the Spirit, it

is critical to reexamine what he says and does not say about the person of the Spirit. As we have noted, Luther repeats traditional Western church phrases on the procession of the Spirit. When he does elaborate, however, he elaborates biblically, not philosophically. From his discussion it is clear that Luther understood *filioque* as the Son's sending of the Spirit, described in John 15.26: "When the Comforter comes, whom I shall send to you, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father, he will testify of me." Luther explains this:

There we hear that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and is sent by the Son. One who is sent, however, is also said to "proceed from." Just as the Son is born of the Father and yet does not depart from the Godhead, but on the contrary remains in the same Godhead with the Father and is one God with him, so also the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and is sent by the Son, and does not depart from the Godhead either, but remains with the Father and the Son in the same Godhead, and is one God with both.²⁴

Consistent with his polemic against the papists and enthusiasts, Luther understands the *filioque* biblically. The Spirit proceeds from the Father and is sent by the Son. Luther does not quarrel with the procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, because he understands "to proceed from" as synonymous with "to be sent by." "To be sent by" describes the Spirit's relationship to Jesus the Son of the Father.

Thus, Luther presents a heavily christological interpretation of both the work and the person of the Spirit. The Spirit is sent by the Son. This is how Luther understands the person of the Spirit; this is how he speaks of the *filioque* clause. Then, Luther locks the word of the Spirit into the word of God in Scripture. The word of God is christologically conceived; all of Scripture bears witness to Christ. The Holy Spirit calls, gathers, enlightens, sanctifies, and preserves both the individual believer and the community of believers. This is how Luther understands the work of the Spirit. Both person and work of the Holy Spirit are elaborated christologically.

²⁴M. Luther, "The Three Symbols or Creeds of the Christian Faith," in *Luther's Works* 34, p. 217.

THE INTRA-ECCLESIAL CONTROVERSY: THE CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT AND CONTEMPORARY LUTHERANISM

Questions concerning the person and work of the Spirit confront contemporary Lutherans in this country much the way they confronted Luther and his contemporaries. The charismatic renewal or the charismatic movement forces American Lutherans to reframe these questions; it forces American Lutherans to rethink Reformation solutions in view of new contexts. American Lutherans find themselves saying both more and less than did Luther on the person and work of the Spirit. It is critical to examine both the points of silence and the points of expansion.

Four study conferences between 1970 and 1975 addressed the Holy Spirit.²⁵ Participants included a broad spectrum of American Lutherans: those heavily involved in the charismatic movement, the tolerant but uninvolved, those disaffected by the movement, and those opposed entirely to the movement. The thematic underlying all the conferences, however, was not how American Lutherans are to regard the charismatic movement, but a question: how are Christians to regard the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church? Specific reference was made to the charismatic movement, but investigation broadly included biblical, historical, and ecumenical thinking on the Spirit.

The charismatic movement poses problems to a Church that sees itself as being always undergoing reformation (*semper reformanda*). A superficial problem is only apparently so: what to call the movement? "Charismatic renewal" seems to render a value judgment, while "movement" is more descriptive. Moreover, "renewal" seems to apply broadly to all forms of renewal in the Church. All participants in the study conferences could consent to the designation "charismatic movement."

Lutheran charismatics regard themselves as a movement. Their aim is "to see a separate 'movement' fade out as its message is integrated into the ongoing life of the Church."²⁶ The language echoes that of other Lutherans, who have seen their confession as a movement within the church catholic. Dr. Timothy Lull put this quite bluntly in a conference for Lutheran leaders in August, 1985. The subject of the conference was the Holy Spirit. In speaking of the Spirit and ecumenism Lull said:

²⁵The conferences resulted in a study volume: Paul D. Opsahl (ed.), *The Holy Spirit in the Life of the Church* (Minneapolis, 1978). Hereafter, Opsahl.

²⁶Appendix A: Section 4, Pastoral Concerns, in Opsahl, p. 243.

We cannot be God's faithful people in the Lutheran Church as long as our pride is in that church, its glorious traditions, its theology, its people, its willingness to fight for truth . . . We are at best a movement for the gospel in the church, a stage along the way to eternal life where there are, we assume, no Lutherans dressed as Lutherans.²⁷

If this is the message of the Holy Spirit to Lutherans churches in 1985, it is startlingly similar to the message charismatic Lutherans made within the church in the 1970s. What was the message of this "movement," self-designated as an interim measure in a pilgrim church, within the church of the 1970s? "The charismatic movement wants to tell the church that the third article of the Creed—the person, works, and gifts of the Holy Spirit—has been neglected."²⁸ The charismatic movement within the Lutheran Church of the 1970s wanted to recall the church to certain neglected facets of the Christian tradition.

Some of these facets had diminished during the course of confessional development. Personal prayer and personal devotional reading of Scripture, gifts of the Spirit, the reality of the faith relationship, the validity of a ministry of healing, the existence of home churches (*ecclesiolae*)—which even Luther had permitted in certain circumstances: all had taken back seat in contemporary practice. The charismatic movement sought to move these pieces of Christian life into their rightful place.

It is important to compare this contemporary controversy over the work of the Spirit to the Reformation controversy. It is startling to see the similarities and differences between this discussion and that one. The chief similarity is that both Lutheran charismatics and Lutheran non-charismatics charge each other with abandoning Scripture and ignoring the work of the Spirit. The ironic difference, however, is that these differences have now arisen *within* the very church that started as a protest for many of the same reasons against both the "papists" and the "enthusiasts."

²⁷Timothy Lull, "The Holy Spirit and Ecumenism," Lecture for Lutheran Bishops and Presidents, Keystone, Colorado, 19 July 1985.

²⁸Appendix A: Section 4, Pastoral Concerns, in Opsahl, p. 243.

The Charismatic Position

Charismatic Lutherans challenge the church to pay closer attention to the Bible and to reexamine the work of the Spirit. Under the rubric of "expectancy," these Lutherans identify five expectations they have for communities that experience the working of the Spirit.

1. experience and exercise of the charismata described by Paul in 1 Corinthians 12.4-10;
2. a deepened appreciation and use of prayer;
3. the possibility of an experience of God which makes one's Christian heritage come alive in new modalities of Christian growth;
4. a greater love of the Bible and its message;
5. an awareness of a dimension described biblically as "principalities and powers."²⁹

Chief among these expectations is a renewed and deepened appreciation for the Bible. It is interesting to see the term "Bible" surface in comparison and contrast with "Scripture." Usage suggests that "Bible" is the descriptive term for the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. "Scripture" refers to the normative content of these books. Charismatic Lutherans suggest two ways in which the "Bible" nurtures a sense of expectancy. In a general sense, charismatic Lutherans recognize that the Bible is authoritative for Christian faith and life. In a second and more specific sense, charismatic Lutherans seek to define explicitly how the Bible is authoritative for Christian faith and life. "Scripture" appears here to interpret and even circumscribe the appropriate ways in which biblical texts can be authoritative for Christian community.

On the one hand charismatics find the Bible the source of their expectations; they expect the gifts and power of the Spirit to be operative in their lives because these things are promised in Scripture. On the other hand, charismatic experience is very much subjected to the tests and norms of Scripture; it is not spiritual experiences and phenomena as such which gain a standing in the charismatic movement but rather that which is understood, on the basis of Scripture, to be a manifestation of the Holy Spirit.³⁰

²⁹Appendix A: Section 2, Concerns the Charismatic Movement among Lutherans Addresses to the Lutheran Church, in Opsahl, p. 232.

³⁰Ibid. p. 234.

Charismatic Lutherans maintain that this renewed appreciation for the Bible does not lead to new ways of interpreting Scripture; rather, it offers new insights into biblical stories of miracles, healings, visions, exorcisms, etc. The charismatic position on the relationship between Bible, Scripture, and Spirit could be summarized as follows: the Holy Spirit interprets the Bible; Scripture is the inspired and normative interpretation of the biblical texts.

In sum, then, and although it was not so precisely stated by Lutheran charismatics, one could conclude that charismatic Lutherans nuance the traditional interpretation of the relationship between Bible, Scripture, and Spirit. The Holy Spirit interprets the Bible. Scripture is that inspired and normative interpretation. Scripture describes the Spirit's working in the community of faith. Rather than a logical or soteriological ordering of Bible, Scripture, and Spirit, charismatic Lutherans relate these three statements dialectically. The Holy Spirit is constantly interpreting the Bible; Scripture, that normative interpretation, is constantly interpreting the work of the Spirit within the community of faith. This dialectic between Spirit and Bible, on the one hand, and between Scripture and Spirit, on the other, affords more subtlety than Luther either needed or stated.

The Non-charismatic Position

Non-charismatic Lutherans agree with charismatic Lutherans that the Spirit has been neglected. They differ, however, on what has been neglected and how that deficit should be addressed. In short, their charge is that charismatic Lutherans have abandoned the word of God in Scripture and misunderstood the work of the Spirit.

The use of Scripture is a critical issue between Lutheran charismatics and non-charismatics. The non-charismatic contingent uses the word "Scripture" exclusively: the "Bible" is the collection of books in the Old Testament and the New Testament; "Scripture" is the "Bible's" normative content. That normative content is christological.

Lutherans cherish the fullness of Scripture as the manifold witness of God's covenant with humanity. The Bible, especially in its prophetic and apostolic witness to Christ, is the rule, norm, and touchstone of the Lutheran confessional movement.³¹

³¹Appendix A: Section 3, Concerns Addressed to Lutheran Charismatics, in Opsahl, p. 239.

Specific passages in Scripture must be interpreted in view of the whole. In contrast to the charismatics' assertion that the Holy Spirit interprets the Bible, these non-charismatic Christians contend that Scripture interprets Scripture.

Non-charismatic Lutherans further note specific problems with letting the Holy Spirit—or one group's interpretation of the Holy Spirit—interpret Scripture.

1. Certain biblical phrases—baptized by the Spirit, “gifts of the Spirit,” *charismata*, speaking in tongues—are sometimes used in ways which are not supported by the broader context, parallels elsewhere, or Scripture as a whole.

2. Certain early Christian practices are sometimes interpreted as preferable, or even normative, for the charismatic movement. This manner of interpretation is in danger of making normative what Scripture regards as descriptive.

3. The tendency is to highlight specific “*charismata*” (1 Cor 12.8-10) as normative for the renewal of the church. Why not also emphasize other *charismata* (Rom 12.6-21)?

4. The descriptive material in Acts and the writings of Paul are seen as more important for understanding the work of the Holy Spirit and his gifts than the clearly didactic sections of the New Testament.³²

In this view, non-charismatic Lutherans maintain that charismatic Christians have returned to the Bible but abandoned Scripture. They have lost the sense of what is normative in Scripture and substituted their own ideas about what is normative onto the biblical materials, ignoring all evidence to the contrary.

The work of the Spirit is also at issue. Non-charismatic Lutherans argue that word and sacrament are appointed means for the church's constant renewal. These are the ordinary, but effective means of God's work to draw the church closer to its Lord. “Gifts of the Spirit” are tacitly dubbed “extraordinary” means through which the Spirit works. Thus, while it seems both Lutheran groups could agree with confessional language that the Holy Spirit calls, gathers, enlightens, sanctifies, and preserves, the charismatic Lutherans would see the work of the Spirit happening in a variety of ways; non-charismatic Lutherans would locate this work within the ministry of word and sacrament.

³²1 Cor 12.8-10; Rom 12.6-21.

Conclusion

The contemporary debate among charismatic and non-charismatic Lutherans runs along Reformation lines: it is a debate over the word of God in Scripture and the work of the Spirit. Charismatic Lutherans accuse the non-charismatic contingent of abandoning the word of God in Scripture and ignoring the work of the Spirit. Non-charismatic Lutherans make the same charges against the charismatic contingent. The two issues are interpretation of Scripture and understanding of the work of the Spirit.

Interpretation of Scripture

Charismatic Lutherans significantly distinguish between "Bible" and "Scripture." "Bible" refers to the books of the Old and New Testaments. Informed by the Spirit the believing community reads the Bible. "Scripture" is the inspired and normative interpretation of the biblical texts. This is a pneumatological interpretation of Scripture. Non-charismatic Lutherans do not make such a distinction between "Bible" and "Scripture." Scripture interprets Scripture, and all of Scripture bears witness to Christ. The normative content of Scripture is Christ. This is a christological interpretation of Scripture.

The Work of the Spirit

Charismatic Lutherans extend the work of the Spirit to include "gifts of the Spirit," as elaborated in 1 Corinthians 12. In the eyes of the opposition this is a needless expansion. Non-charismatic Lutherans speak of the chief gifts of the Spirit as being word and sacrament. What more does one need? they argue. In the eyes of the opposition this is an unjustified truncation.

Resolution of these differences may well come only in time and in the faith life of the church. Interestingly, the debate between charismatic and non-charismatic Lutherans revolves around the Reformation issues of Scripture and the work of the Spirit. Ironically, each group charges the other with faulty interpretation of Scripture and incomplete understanding of the work of the Spirit—the same charges Luther leveled against both Rome and the radical reformers. And yet, both charismatic and non-charismatic Lutherans have a common concern: how is the work of the Spirit within the life of the church to be understood? The question still directs the church today. In a very real sense what the charismatic movement hoped to accomplish is being accomplished. Concerns of charismatic Christians are being integrated into mainstream thinking in the church.

A conference in August, 1985 for synodical bishops and presidents in the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod, the Lutheran Church in America, the American Lutheran Church, and the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches pressed questions surrounding the work of the Spirit still further. Papers addressed the Spirit's working in intra-confessional and extra-confessional settings: how are we to understand the work of the Spirit in the whole arena of Christian experience? how are we to understand the work of the Spirit in the ecumenical movement?

A northern California coalition of churches hopes to set as its task healing and wholeness. Their mission has both personal and social goals. The rationale is the conviction that personal healing can only occur when people are actively working for healing of the neighbor, the community, and the world. The Spirit asserts its presence more and more forcefully within the church's faith and practice.

And yet, in another sense, the charismatic movement's challenge has not been met. The question—how do we understand the Holy Spirit in the life of the church?—has not been adequately answered. Part of the reason the question is still pending is that adequate answer forces two additional questions: how do we understand the relationship between christology and pneumatology, between the second and third persons of the Trinity, between Son and Spirit? how do we understand the Trinity itself?

CONFESSING THE APOSTOLIC FAITH TODAY: THE WORK AND PERSON OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

"We are at best a movement for the gospel in the church . . . " Dr. Lull's comment indicates that we are still in transit. We are still reframing questions and rethinking solutions. We are a church that is always undergoing reformation.

Luther's attack on works righteousness persists throughout the tradition that bears his name. Lutherans maintain that how the creatures present themselves to God is a false concern. All creatures are totally sinful in themselves, totally saved through Christ. Of solitary and paramount importance is how God is present within creation. Christ is the embodiment of God's presence among the creatures. The creeds elaborate this: God is present as creator, redeemer, and sanctifier. Christ has revealed this to be truth.

Two observations are in order. First, Luther's presentation is heavily christological. Second, the presentation is more concerned with

the work of each member of the Trinity, less concerned with the person. Each of these observations warrants further elaboration.

Christology and pneumatology. Christ is the lens through which Christians view the working of deity. All of Luther's thinking bears this heavily christological stamp. His thinking on the Spirit is no exception: both the person and work of the Spirit are christologically conceived. On this point, at least, Lutheranism has followed his lead.

The problems of such a perspective are acknowledged. An American Lutheran Church document offering counsel to pastors dealing with the charismatic movement noted: "There is truth in the contention that 'we sometimes divide Christ from God,' and that 'Lutherans are dominated by a Second Article mentality.' " But the document then down-played the dominance: "It must also be recognized that we can be dominated by a First Article mentality or by a Third Article mentality."³³ Both Reformation enthusiasts and contemporary charismatics sought to describe the Spirit's person and work independently of Christ. This was—and is—problematic for Lutherans. Clearly, a christological focus is preferable.

This christological focus, however, does skew things trinitarian. The first person of the Trinity is not dependent on the second person in the same way that the Holy Spirit is dependent on Christ. An implicit subordination is present. The Spirit is sent by the Son: this is how Lutherans have traditionally understood the person of the Spirit and the *filioque* clause. Further, the word of God in Scripture describes and defines the work of the Spirit. Scripture is what has to do with Christ (*was Christem treibet*). This is how Lutherans have traditionally understood the work of the Spirit.

Both old controversies and new ones are forcing Lutherans to reassess the relationship between christology and pneumatology, between the second and third persons of the Trinity, between Son and Spirit.

The Trinity. Luther's explanation of the creed is oriented toward the work and not the person of the Father, Son, and Spirit. God's presence within the creation is critical to Luther, but he focuses on *how* God is present, rather than *that* God is present. For Luther what God *does* is more important than who God *is*. The Lutheran designation

³³Appendix B: The American Lutheran Church and Neo-Pentecostalism, in Opsahl, p. 248.

for the persons of God is revealing: creator, redeemer, sanctifier. One could perhaps more accurately render this: God creating, God redeeming, God sanctifying.

Less attention has been given to who Father, Son, and Spirit are. Less attention has been given to the various relationships that obtain between each. As Lutherans reassess the relationship between Son and Spirit, as they grapple with problems such as the *filioque* clause, they will be thinking not simply about what God does—what the creatures can “expect and receive from God,” as the Large Catechism put it—but who God is. This may well be the next reformation within the church that is always undergoing reformation.

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Muslim and Byzantine Christian Relations: Letter of Paul of Antioch and Ibn Taymīyah's Response

MUZAMMIL H. SIDDIQI

MUSLIM AND BYZANTINE CHRISTIAN RELATIONS are generally viewed as little more than continual warfare. It is true that for centuries they fought each other, but beside confrontations between armies on battlefields there were also debates, polemics, cultural exchanges, and commercial relations. History of these exchanges is little explored and studied. Some of these exchanges were very significant and are of great importance for understanding the history of dialogue between Muslims and Christians in general and in particular between the Muslim and the Byzantine Christian community. Both communities were living very close to each other and dialogue for them was not mere academic exercise but something of existential importance. In this paper I would like to discuss the dialogical exchange that took place between two Muslim and Christian theologians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This paper is part of a thesis that I have presented to the Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions and is being readied for publication soon. In my thesis I have discussed at length the social and historical context of this exchange. Here I shall concentrate only on the theological issues discussed in the works of these two writers.

First is the work of Paul of Antioch who prepared it in the form of a letter to Muslims. He entitled his work as *Risāla ilā ba'ḍ aṣḍiqā'hi al-Muslimīn* (Letter to Some of His Muslim Friends). Paul was a Melkite theologian who lived in the twelfth century. He was born in Antioch, spent his early life as a monk and was later appointed

as the bishop of Sidon. There are about twenty-four small treatises attributed to him. Paul Khoury, who edited and translated into French this Letter to Muslims, has accepted only five as authentic writings of Paul of Antioch.¹

Paul's works were primarily apologetic and written in clear and didactic style. He often referred to reason as the criterion and touchstone of all religious truth² and made use of rational arguments in explaining his position. The apologies of Paul are markedly sober and irenic. Khoury says:

L'oeuvre de Paul de Sidon semble trancher sur l'ensemble de la littérature apologetique chrétienne de langue arabe, si ce n'est pour l'originalité ou la profondeur des idées, du moins par l'attitude compréhensive qu'elle révèle et le ton irénique qu'y prend le discours.³

The most famous work of Paul of Antioch was however his letter to some of his Muslim friends. This letter was widely circulated among the Christians of the Near East. As is so with the famous apology of al-Kindī,⁴ this letter too was copied and re-copied.

The letter is interesting and important for several reasons. First of all it was written in an atmosphere of irenic confrontation with Islam. The author was not only defending his own faith but was also expressing some of his feelings about Islam and the mission of Muḥammad. These feelings were quite different from those of earlier Byzantine⁵ or other Arab-Christian authors.⁶ Paul did not accuse the Prophet of being an imposter or liar or warrior who waged wars and

¹ These are: a short treatise on reason, a treatise explaining why many nations along with the Jews accepted the Christian religion voluntarily, a letter to some of his Muslim friends, a treatise on Christian sects and another treatise explaining briefly the doctrines of Union and Unity; Paul Khoury, *Paul d'Antioch eveque melkite's de Sidon* (Beirut, n.d.), pp. 1-101, French translation on pp. 123-202.

² Ibid. pp. 15, 24, 41, etc.

³ Ibid. p. 6.

⁴ See William Muir, *The Apology of al-Kindy* (London, 1882).

⁵ One may refer here to an important study of these works by Adel Theodore Khoury, *Les theologiens byzantin et l'Islam* (Louvain, 1969).

⁶ See Daniel J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam* (Leiden, 1972) and James T. Addison, *The Christian Approach to the Moslem* (New York, 1942).

Prophet of being an imposter or liar or warrior who waged wars and used the sword, accusations made by a number of earlier Christian writers. He recognized that Muḥammad had a religious mission. However, this mission, he argued, was not universal and hence did not include Christians who had already received a superior message, namely the law of Christ. Muḥammad was sent, he said, to the ignorant Arabs who were living in darkness and who had never received a prophet before him. This can be proved, Paul claimed, from the Qur'ān itself; he cited several verses to support his arguments.

Let us analyze the letter in some detail. The author starts with a statement that he made a journey to the Byzantine territories, Constantinople, the land of the Amalfi, some Frankish province, and Rome. Because of his high office as bishop of Antioch he was able to meet some of the chiefs, elders, dignitaries, and scholars of these countries. At the request of one of his Muslim friends who asked him about the journey and about the views⁷ of these people concerning Muḥammad, the author undertook to write this letter. All the arguments for Christianity or against Islam are thus put in the mouths of the people of those lands, and the author represents himself only as their spokesman and a reporter. Whether this was exactly the case or Paul used this style as a literary device remains open to conjecture.⁸

The dialogue begins with a discussion of Muḥammad and his book, al-Qur'ān. Paul argues that Islam is not a universal religion and that the message of Muḥammad was addressed to the pagan Arabs only. He quotes⁹ the Qur'ānic verses concerning its Arabic origin (Sura 12.2) and Muḥammad's having been sent among the Gentiles and among those who did not receive any messenger before (62.2; 28.46; 36.6). These Paul considers as proofs from the Qur'ān itself for his arguments.

⁷ Reference should be made here to some excellent works discussing the Western views of Islam in the Middle Ages. See Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: the Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960); R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1962).

⁸ Ibn Taymīyah, probably, accepted as true Paul's account of his journey. Thus he always narrates Paul's arguments as "they said (*qālū*)" or "the reporter from them said (*qāla al-nāqil 'anhum*).

⁹ Although the letter abounds in the Qur'ānic quotations, a good number of them are quoted inexactly. See par. 6, verse 1 (Sura 12.2), par. 8, verse 2 (Sura 3.42), par. 10, verse 1 (Sura 3.55), etc. These errors might have occurred due to the negligence of later scribes since we do not find Ibn Taymīyah or others referring to this rather serious error in the letter of Paul.

The second theme of the letter is Christ in the Qur'ān. Paul says that since the Qur'ān has honored Christ and his mother, has mentioned the miracles performed by Jesus Christ and his virgin birth, and has praised the Gospels and the followers of Christ, this proves that the Prophet of Islam had no intention of converting Christians to his faith.

Following this discussion the author takes basic Christian doctrines such as the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the union and explains that there is no basic contradiction between these doctrines and the Islamic affirmation of *tawḥīd* (oneness of God). Paul's discussion of these doctrines is not very much different from the works of the Arab-Christian theologians of this period. The Trinity is explained in terms of "the essential attributes" (*al-ṣifāt al-jawhariyya*) or "names" (*al-asmā'*) and illustrated with the traditional analogy of the sun, its light, and its rays.

The union of the divine Word with humanity in the person of Christ is described with the familiar analogy of the fire and ironsheet. What distinguishes Paul's work is that here too he quotes the Qur'ān to prove his doctrines,¹⁰ and argues that the Christian doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation are similar to the doctrines of attributes (*ṣifāt*) in Islamic theology and should be considered with the same caution and care as the apparently anthropomorphic verses in the Qur'ān.

The intrinsic quality of this work as well as the external conditions and situation in which it was produced are noteworthy. It is no wonder, then, that three Muslim theologians gave attention to this work and not only read it but also found it worth answering and commenting upon.

Muslim writers who answered this letter were: Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Qarāfī (d. 684 A.H./1285 A.D.) who was a Mālikī Jurist and lived in Egypt.¹¹ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Anṣārī (d. 727 A.H./1327 A.D.) who was known as a Ṣūfī and

¹⁰For example he refers to Sura 2.255. Three names, he says, are used here: *Allāh*, *al-Ḥayy*, and *al-Qayyūm*. Also he refers to *Bismillāh* where he says only three attributes are mentioned, namely *Allāh*, *al-Raḥmān*, and *al-Raḥīm*; see Paul Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam*, pp. 70-71.

¹¹*Al-Ajwibat al-Fākhiraḥ 'an al-As'ilaḥ al-Fājiraḥ* on the margin of 'Abd al-Raḥman Bashizadeh, *Kitāb al-Farq bayn al-Makhlūq wa al-Khālīq* (Egypt, n.d.).

was a native of Damascus.¹² And Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymīyah (d. 728 A.H./1328 A.D.) who was a Ḥanbalī theologian, a prolific and influential writer and spent most of his life in Damascus and Egypt.

The answer of Ibn Taymīyah is the most substantial and interesting. His work is now available in four volumes consisting of about 1500 pages altogether.¹³ Ibn Taymīyah's wrote his whole book as a long continuous answer to Paul. He identified six arguments in Paul's letter:

1. The claim that Muḥammad was sent only to ignorant Arabs and his alleged proofs from the Qur'ān and reason.
2. The claim that the Qur'ān praises Christ, Christian scriptures, and followers of Christ and this means that Christians are not invited to Islam.
3. The claim that the prophecies of the Torah, psalms, and Gospels confirm Christian doctrines of the Trinity, hypostases (*aqānīm*), Incarnation, etc.
4. The claim that these Christian doctrines can be proved by reason as well as scripture.
5. The claim that words like hypostases (*aqānīm*) are similar to attributes (*ṣifāt*) and names (*asmā'*) of God in Islam.
6. The claim that Jesus came with perfect teachings and anything after perfection is redundant and thus unnecessary and unacceptable.

Ibn Taymīyah begins the book with a long preface; after praising God and asking blessings upon his Prophet Muḥammad, he speaks about the universal message of Muḥammad, the comprehensive nature of the Qur'ān, and the unity of all prophetic religions. He also mentions some special characteristics of the religion of Muḥammad and his community. Muḥammad, he emphasizes, was the final among God's prophets, who were sent to all peoples and who preached the same message of Islam although there were differences among the religious codes (*sharī'a*) that each gave to their people. Islam is a middle way both in matters of doctrine as well as religious law and morality. Islam is not as lax as the Christian religion nor as rigid as Judaism. The *Ahl al-Sunnah* from amongst the Muslims are, furthermore, on the middle path in comparison to other sects within Islam.¹⁴

¹² *Jawāb Risālat Ahl Jazīrat Qubrus*, Ms. Utrecht: Cod. Mss. Oriental 40.

¹³ *Al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ liḥman Baddala Dīn al-Masīḥ* (Cairo, 1964).

¹⁴ *Al-Jawāb*, 1, pp. 1-9.

Ibn Taymīyah then mentions the occasion of the writing of *al-Jawāb*: how he received a copy of a letter written by Paul of Antioch which put together many arguments against Islam that are often repeated by Christian scholars. He explains that it is also widely circulated and that many old copies of it are available, and then he summarizes the letter in six points.

To answer these points, he first quotes the exact words of Paul and then offers his own comments. He will show, he says, that Christians have no correct rational or scriptural foundation for their beliefs. The Gospels as well as other scriptures contradict their doctrines.¹⁵ He then goes on to treat each of the six points as follows:

*Universality of Muḥammad*¹⁶

The question as to whether the message of Prophet Muḥammad is for the whole mankind or for Arabs only occupies Ibn Taymīyah for a long time. He devotes almost 200 pages of his book to answering this question. Paul's argument had been that the message was meant for Arabs only, because the divine Word, al-Qur'ān, was given to Muḥammad in Arabic and also because the Qur'ān itself claimed that Muḥammad was sent among the Arabs (Sura 2.151; 3.164).

Ibn Taymīyah in his answer first makes an epistemological observation. He says that the question of the truth of any claimant to prophethood should precede the question of the universality or non-universality of his mission. Therefore the first question to be settled is whether or not Muḥammad was a true prophet. If one accepts that he was truthful in his claim to prophethood then one must also believe in all his statements. The authentic words of Muḥammad, his own deeds and the deeds of his companions and caliphs prove that Muḥammad's mission included the whole of mankind: Jews, Christians, and Gentiles. Ibn Taymīyah then narrates historical examples of the Prophet's contacts with Jews and Christians and his preaching to them.¹⁷ He

¹⁵Ibid. pp. 19-26.

¹⁶Ibid. pp. 26-229.

¹⁷He mentions the Christian delegation that the Prophet received in the year 10 of Hijrah in Madinah from Najran. Also the Negus of Abyssinia accepted Islam. Waraqah Nawfal recognized his prophethood, and a group of Christians came to him after the migration to Abyssinia and accepted Islam. The Prophet also sent letters to kings and rulers, among them Heraklios of Byzantium and the Muqauqas of Egypt, who were Christians; see *Al-Jawāb*, 1, pp. 65-101.

quotes other Qur'ānic verses that speak about the universality of his mission (Sura 7.158), 34.28). Ibn Taymīyah then discusses in detail the verses of the Qur'ān that are mentioned by Paul and argues, giving supporting evidence from the life of the Prophet himself, that there is no contradiction between Muḥammad's mission to Arabs and his mission to mankind at large.

Finally he tries to answer those from among the Christians who do not regard Muḥammad as the prophet of God and deny his mission even to Arabs. It is rationally impossible he says to accept Moses and Jesus as prophets of God and not to accept Muḥammad as his prophet. Whatever evidence there is to prove the truth of any prophet is enough to prove the truth of Muḥammad's prophethood and the doubts that one may raise against him could be equally strongly raised against the prophethood of any other prophet.¹⁸

Concerning the argument that because the Qur'ān is in Arabic it must be for the Arabs only, Ibn Taymīyah says that all religious books were revealed in some particular language. Translation is, however, allowed for the sake of those who do not understand the Arabic language.¹⁹ Because of the Qur'ān the Arabic language has become a universal language. As the disciples of Jesus went with the gift of many languages to other nations, so were the messengers of the Prophet Muḥammad. He sent them with his letters to kings and rulers, and each one of them spoke the language of the people to whom he was sent.²⁰ To those who might claim that the Gospels were translated by apostles who were infallible,²¹ while the Qur'ān

¹⁸Ibid. pp. 166-88.

¹⁹Ibid. p. 190. This is rather noteworthy and shows that in spite of his belief in the inimitability (*i'jāz*) of the Qur'ān and the superiority of its language, he did not forbid the translation of the Qur'ān. See a good study on this subject but without reference to Ibn Taymīyah's views, A. L. Tibawi, "Is the Qur'ān Translatable?" *Muslim World* 52 (1962) 4-16.

²⁰Ibid. 1, p. 193.

²¹This claim is not made by Paul of Antioch but it was probably a popular argument since it was common belief among Christians at this time that the Apostles of Jesus made translations of the Gospels in all languages of the earth. About Ibn 'Assāl, D. R. McDonald writes, "He seems to have had no doubt in his mind that the Coptic was an original text; Coptic, Greek, and Syriac were all on one footing. They all emanated apparently from the Apostles," "Ibn al-'Assāl's Arabic Version of the Gospels," in D. Eduardo Saaverdo, ed., *Festschrift D. Francisco Codera* (Zaragoza, 1904), p. 375.

was translated by common and infallible people, he answers that first of all the disciples of Jesus did not translate the Gospels into all languages of the earth. There exists, for example, no Arabic translation of the Gospels prepared by any one of the apostles. Further, the work of translation does not require infallible people and, moreover, the disciples of Jesus were not infallible.

Paul had argued that since the prophets had already come before Muḥammad and given them (the Christians) the Torah and the Gospels in their own language, it was not necessary for Christians to follow Muḥammad. Ibn Taymīyah answers that the advent of one prophet does not negate the advent of another. Among the Israelites a number of prophets used to come. Also not all Christians have received their scriptures in their own languages. Furthermore there are many innovations and alterations in their holy books. He himself has found, he says, many discrepancies and differences among various versions of the Bible in Arabic.

Paul had remarked that it was against the justice of God to command people to follow someone whose language they do not understand. Ibn Taymīyah replies that Paul of Antioch himself knows Arabic and understands the Qur'ān. Since there are many who are learning the Arabic language today in order to read books on other technical subjects, why can they not learn Arabic in order to read the Qur'ān as well?

*The Qur'ān and the Christian Religion*²²

Answering Paul's argument that since the Qur'ān praises the Christian religion it means that Christians are not addressed by Islam and need not be converted to Islam. Ibn Taymīyah answers that the Qur'ān has certainly praised Christ, his mother, and his true followers, and in this sense Muslims follow the middle path between Jews and Christians. They neither reject Christ as Jews do nor do they deify him as do the Christians. He mentions the story of the birth of Jesus as it occurs in Sura 19 and gives a brief interpretation of some verses explaining the meaning of such words as *rūḥ* (spirit) and *ibn* (son).

But going back to Paul's argument, he says Christ also praised the Torah, even more than Prophet Muḥammad praised the Gospels, but Christians believed that Jews still had to follow Christ and would not say that since he had praised their scripture they were no longer

²² *Al-Jawāb*, 1, p. 229-2, p. 90.

required to believe in him. Similarly, Christians cannot base their argument in this matter upon Muḥammad's praise of the Gospels.²³

Here he also discusses the important question of the salvation of those who do not accept the Prophet. Will they be punished in Hell? He elaborates his answer to this question in the light of the Qur'ān and criticizes some earlier Muslim theologians who, he believes, held incorrect views. His general position is that no one will be punished unless, after knowing the truth, one resists it in obstinacy (*'inād*).²⁴

Ibn Taymīyah believes that Christians are in error and Prophet Muḥammad did not praise them in their errors. Explaining the reasons for Christian errors, he says that they followed ambiguous and difficult statements that came to them from their prophets and did not adhere to clear and straightforward teachings. Certain extraordinary things they saw and believed to be miracles (*āyāt*) though in reality they were just demonic tricks. Moreover certain false reports reached them which they believed to be true. Ibn Taymīyah believes that the stories of the resurrection of Jesus and his appearance to disciples were of this later sort. It was the devil, he says, who appeared to them and claimed that he was Christ. "This type of thing," he says, "happens in our own days. In Tadmur some people saw a giant flying in the air who appeared to them several times in different costumes and told them, 'I am Jesus, son of Mary' and asked them to do things which Jesus would never ask them to do." Such stories, he says, are frequently mentioned in countries where people practice polytheism (*shirk*) such as India. There are some people who claim that they have seen their shaykh appear to them and he has helped them. Such a report also reached Ibn Taymīyah about himself. Someone came to him and told him that he had been in trouble and sought Ibn Taymīyah's help in a distant place, whereupon Ibn Taymīyah appeared to him and helped him. Ibn Taymīyah says, "When he related this to me I told him that I did not help you but it must have been a devil who appeared to you in my image to lead you astray because you committed *shirk* when you sought the help of someone other than God."²⁵ Ibn Taymīyah agrees that to see someone in a dream is possible, but says that to see someone in the

²³Ibid. 1, p. 275.

²⁴Ibid. pp. 309-13.

²⁵Ibid. pp. 319-20.

of wakefulness while he is dead or actually absent is impossible because a body cannot be in two places at the same time.

Ibn Taymīyah turns then to Christian scriptures and says that the Gospels were not written by Jesus, something that Christians themselves admit. The *tahrīf* (alteration or change) took place mainly in the interpretation; as the different councils met they gradually altered the meanings. Thus Christian doctrines are not based upon the Gospels but upon incorrect interpretation. The present Gospels, however, do not represent the Gospel that was the word of God revealed to Jesus Christ, although they do contain some parts of it.²⁶

*On Christian Doctrines*²⁷

In this section, Ibn Taymīyah critically examines several Christian doctrines and criticizes the rational methodology of Paul of Antioch. Paul, in his defense of the terms such as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, had explained that Christians had used these "names" only to say that God was substance (*shay'*), living (*ḥayy*) and rational (*nātiq*). Ibn Taymīyah argues that instead of beginning with rational justification for the Trinity, Paul should have presented the scriptural proofs. It is not that Christians want to say that God is substance, living, and rational, and so they say that he is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but rather they claim that their scriptures have used these "names" for God. They, however, differ among themselves in the interpretation of these names.

Ibn Taymīyah does not believe that Christian doctrines can be proved from the Bible. He emphasizes that one must examine three things before accepting anything on the authority of the prophets (or scriptures). If transmitters are known, then one must determine the authenticity of the transmission (*isnād*). If the statement is translated from one language to another, as in the case of the Gospels, then one must confirm the soundness of the translation. Finally, in interpretation one must make sure whether they (the prophets) really intended the meaning that one is giving to their words.²⁸

Ibn Taymīyah demands that these three premises should be established. He himself, however, without discussing the first two points of transmission and translation, goes directly into the problem of

²⁶Ibid. p. 368.

²⁷Ibid. 2, p. 90-3, p. 137.

²⁸Ibid. 2, p. 122.

interpretation. Thus such words as *uqnūm* (hypostasis) and *tathlīth* (trinity), etc. are rejected because they do not occur in the Gospels and their interpretation is not justified. Words that indicate *ḥulūl* (indwelling) are found in the Gospels, but they can also be interpreted in different ways. Ibn Taymīyah discusses at length the meaning of the word *ḥulūl* and also mentions its different usages among the Sūfis.

The doctrine of the two natures of Christ is then discussed at length and Ibn Taymīyah takes note of differences among the three main sects of Christianity, namely, the Melkites, Jacobites, and Nestorians. In order to criticize these sects he makes extensive use of the letter of Ḥasan b. Ayyūb, a Christian convert to Islam who had criticized the theological positions of the three main sects of Christianity, saying that ecumenical church councils had contributed to the alteration of the religion of Christ. Ibn Taymīyah quotes almost the whole letter of Ḥasan b. Ayyūb.

In his references to Christian history, he relies upon the work of the Melkite historian Eutychius Saʿīd b. al-Bīṭrīq. It is interesting to note that in his arguments against the Jacobites and Nestorians, he uses Ibn al-Bīṭrīq's criticism of these two sects. Similarly in his criticism of the Melkites, he uses some non-Melkite sources such as Ḥasan b. Ayyūb, who was probably a Nestorian before his conversion to Islam.

*The Trinity and the Attributes*²⁹

The question of the similarities and differences between the Muslim doctrines of divine attributes and the Christian doctrine of the divine Trinity is discussed at some length. Ibn Taymīyah reiterates his position that the doctrine of the Trinity is not based upon the Gospels. He says that there is no quarrel with a person who accepts what is brought by the prophets. The words like *uqnūm* and *tathlīth* are not found in the vocabulary of Jesus. Divine attributes are the same in the Qurʾān and the Bible.

Ibn Taymīyah believes that the biblical concept of God is similar to that of the Qurʾān because the source of both of them is God.³⁰ Discussing the baptismal formula in Matthew (28.19), he says that it cannot mean what it is taken to mean in Christian theology. The word "son" is never used in the Bible for a non-created being and

²⁹Ibid. 3, pp. 137-228.

³⁰Ibid. p. 146.

“spirit” (*rūḥ*) does not mean “life” (*ḥayāt*).

Discussing in detail the meaning of each word, “Father,” Son,” and “Holy Spirit,” he says that knowledge of the prophets’ language and understanding of their words in the light of their own meaning is obligatory. Doing otherwise will lead to alteration (*taḥrīf*). The same mistake was committed by the monists (*ittihādiyūn*) from amongst the Ṣūfis, such as Ibn ‘Arabī and his followers.

Explaining the Muslim position on the names of God (*asmā’ Allāh*), he says that Muslims speak in two ways. Some use only those names that are mentioned in the Qur’ān, while others say that whatever name is linguistically correct and the meaning of which is acceptable in *Sharī’a* can be used. Ibn Taymīyah’s own position is that the names and attributes that are not mentioned in the Qur’ān are allowed to be used in speaking about God; but in praying to him only the Qur’ānic names and attributes should be employed.

*The Nature of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity*³¹

Paul of Antioch, in speaking about Judaism and Christianity, said that the teachings of Moses were based upon justice (*‘adl*) but the teachings of Jesus were based upon charity³² (*faḍl*) and there is nothing greater than charity which might be expected from the teachings of Muḥammad. Ibn Taymīyah accepts Paul’s general characterization of Mosaic laws as well as Jesus’ ethical teachings, but says that even in the laws of Moses there were exhortations to perform charitable acts. Islam, however, is the perfect religion because it combines both: it commands whatever is just (*‘adl*) and recommends (*mandūb*) whatever is charitable (*faḍl*). Here he also makes some comparisons among the teachings of the three religions. About Christians he says that they are not following the Gospels but the canons of their elders.

Finally, Ibn Taymīyah takes up the question of prophecies about Muḥammad in other scriptures and his miracles. He says that Christians have a well-known objection to Islam. They claim that the Prophet Muḥammad’s advent was never foretold in previous scriptures while there are many prophecies about the advent of Christ. Christians

³¹Ibid. pp. 229-74.

³²The word “charity” is used here more in the Latin sense of *caritas*. Apparently Paul could have used the word “*ḥubb*” also but he preferred “*faḍl*,” probably to rhyme with “*‘adl*.”

make this charge on the assumption that unless a person is foretold by other prophets, he cannot be considered a true prophet. It is not necessary for a prophet to be foretold by others. Many prophets before Muḥammad were not foretold, such Abraham, Noah, and most of the prophets who came among the Children of Israel. However, the prophecies concerning Muḥammad do exist in the Torah and the Gospels. To prove this he produces a sizeable collection of these quotations from the Old and New Testament.³³ The rest of the work is then devoted to the discussion of the miracles of Muḥammad and the proofs of his prophethood.

Ibn Taymīyah is often called by historians a very strong-headed person and a harsh critic of his opponents, but in *al-Jawāb*³⁴ he comes out very irenic and gentle, nonetheless persuasive, insightful and intelligent. Ibn Taymīyah sees both the Islamic and Christian traditions as stemming from the same source and hence susceptible to similar interpretations. Christians, he argues, have forsaken the prophetic source and foundation of their faith and adulterated the teachings of Jesus by introducing many alien elements which are either contrary to his teachings or inconsistent with them. In his critical examination of the Christian tradition, he tries further to identify the true message of Jesus Christ and in this he invariably reaches the conclusion that the message of Jesus was the same as the message of Muḥammad. He ends his long response with the Hadith:

Abu Harairah reports from the Prophet that he said, "We, the community of Prophets, have one religion" (*innā ma'āshir al-anbiyā' dīnūnā waḥid*).

It is not incorrect to say that Christian Islamic debates and dialogues generally revolve around these subjects. Sometimes the parties are gentle and irenic and sometimes harsh. It is the nature of these two traditions; both have scriptural claims, both have universal missions, both have similarities and differences. Dialogue requires understanding of both. I appreciate this opportunity to present these approaches so that we may learn from them and improve upon them.

³³ *Al-Jawāb*, 3, p. 281-4, p. 21.

³⁴ *Al-Jawāb*, 4, p. 323.

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They are very clearly written and unusually well organized. They make for a superb collection of thoughtful essays.

The Old Calendar Church of Greece is an exact reprint of a volume issued in 1985 and reviewed in this journal (30.1, Spring 1985, pp. 86-87) at the time of its original publication. Only the Prologue by Metropolitan Cyprian has been replaced by a new prologue by Hieromonk Auxentios. The second printing is a clear indication that such a book about the Old Calendar Church was needed to provide English readers with a helpful account of the genesis of the Old Calendar movement, its characteristics as an historical and religious phenomenon, its past history and its current status, and particularly its relation to the Orthodox world of today.

Though *The Old Calendar Church of Greece* has produced some controversy in certain circles, it has also elicited fruitful discussion that will enable Orthodox Christians to get to know each other better.

Both books deserve careful reading.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

On the Divine Liturgy: Orthodox Homilies, Volume One. By Augustinos N. Kantiotes, Bishop of Florina. Trans. with a Foreword by Asterios Gerostergios. Belmont, MA.: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1986. Pp. 280. Cloth, \$13.95.

Father Asterios Gerostergios (Ph.D., Boston University), author of *St. Photios the Great* (1980) and *Justinian the Great, The Emperor and Saint* (1982), has performed an act of Christian love. He has faithfully translated the *Orthodox Homilies* of the Bishop of Florina into English on the occasion of that hierarch's fiftieth anniversary as a clergyman and preacher of the Greek Orthodox Church. The original Greek work was published in Athens by the Orthodox Missionary Brotherhood 'Ο Σταυρὸς (*The Cross*) in 1977. This first volume, devoted to the Liturgy of the Catechumens, contains sixty homilies in language that can be understood by a layperson of any background with no prior theological knowledge. It is addressed to the Orthodox churchgoer who could profit from regular and systematic reflection on each part of the Divine Liturgy of Saint John. The author draws freely from Scripture, from the Church Fathers, from the history of

the Church, and from contemporary life to bring home the meaning of the Liturgy.

Bishop Augustinos very rightly emphasizes the necessity for the Orthodox worshipper to become an active participant in the Divine Liturgy. The Divine Liturgy is the center of Orthodox worship and "the greatest opportunity for receiving divine grace" (p. 6). Bishop Augustinos sees in the Liturgy priceless spiritual and religious wealth because

The Divine Liturgy is not merely a gathering of the faithful. It is the union of the faithful with each other. It is the union of the Church Militant here on earth with the Church Triumphant in heaven. Most of all, it is the union of the faithful with Christ. In the Divine Liturgy, the faithful travel together through all the stages of Christ's life on earth. . . . Every stage of the life of Christ is repeated in the Divine Liturgy (ibid.).

What is, of course, the most priceless gift of all is "to become a partaker of the Divine Supper, sharing the same body and blood with Christ" (ibid.).

Bishop Augustinos is uncompromising in his Christian Orthodoxy but he is also uncompromising in his determination to make the Christian message understandable and meaningful. We look forward to the circulation of the second volume on the Liturgy of the Faithful.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

G.O.T.R. 31 (86).

Three Byzantine Literatures: A Layman's Guide. By Ihor Ševčenko. Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1985. Pp: 26. Paperbound, \$2.00.

This essay is, in reality, a lecture and has the characteristics of a speech both in style and in organization of its material. The work deals skillfully with an important subject and serves as a good introduction to Byzantine literature. It provides a strong reminder that for a thousand years the Byzantine Empire was not only a powerful state but also an active creator in all fields of culture. Literature was

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Orthodox Christianity and Bioethics

STANLEY S. HARAKAS

THE TOPIC OF Orthodox Christianity and bioethics is quite broad and could only be handled in a most cursory and general manner in the time allotted for this presentation. On the other hand, it is clear that immediate immersion in a particular bioethical problem from an Eastern Orthodox perspective would not permit this particular audience to deal coherently with the general approach of Eastern Christianity to ethical questions broadly conceived, and bioethical issues in particular. I have therefore decided to try to bridge the gap between these two approaches by beginning with a quite cursory introduction to the approach of Eastern Orthodoxy to ethics. In the second part of this presentation I will attempt to sketch out the application of the principles and approaches of Orthodox ethics to one issue, the body. The third part will seek to sketch — again, briefly yet concretely — “approaches to the body in the contemporary bioethical discussion.”

Ethics in Eastern Orthodox Christian Teaching

Quite briefly, what needs to be affirmed under this rubric is the conviction and practical approach within Eastern Orthodoxy that ethics is a derivative discipline which studies the practical living of the Orthodox Christian faith. The source of both the ethical life and disciplined reflection upon it in Eastern Orthodox Christianity is the faith, i.e. the fundamental belief system which is understood to be primarily doctrinal in nature. The corollaries to this approach are fairly obvious. It means that in a larger and inclusive sense the ethical

life and the reflection on it reject the concept of an adequate autonomous ethic, without moorings in a belief system. Specifically, this means that Orthodox draw their ethical norms and “do ethics” out of the doctrinal, spiritual, and ecclesial teachings of the Church, and not vice versa.

While it is true that this dependency of the ethical life and disciplined reflection on it (i.e. the theological discipline of Eastern Orthodox ethics) emerge from the faith commitment and teaching of Eastern Orthodoxy, and that in one sense or another, all parts of the revelatory experience are seen as sources for “doing ethics,” some aspects are more important than others. Practically speaking, ethics draws its teaching from Scripture, patristic writings, the liturgical treasure of the Church, some elements of ecclesiastical and cultural history, and canon law as expressions of the Church’s normative mind set. Doctrinally, the fundamental Christian understanding of God’s economy of salvation is the background for the ethical life and ethical reflection.

Central, then, to ethics and the moral life are the teachings of the Orthodox Church regarding: the one triune God as creator, as a community of persons, and as love; the creation of humanity in the image and likeness of God; the human condition as fallen and in need of redemption; the incarnation of the second person of the Holy Trinity in human nature for the salvation of humanity in the person of Jesus Christ; his teaching, direction, and guidance; his ontological victory over the enemies of humankind, death, sin, and evil through his crucifixion and resurrection; the pentecostal presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church; the sacramental approach to life as a whole; the transfiguring and transforming direction of growth toward God-likeness (theosis) as the goal of human life; the synergy of human self-determination and divine grace in the process of growth; and the eschatological perspective that places all of human life within a concurrently this-worldly Kingdom of God understood as being always in the process of becoming in this existence.¹ On the basis of these theological presuppositions Orthodox Christian ethics approaches the traditional themes of ethics such as the good, evil, sin, human moral capacities, freedom, conscience, moral law, the evangelical ethic,

¹For a more full treatment of the doctrinal foundations of Orthodox ethics, see Stanley S. Harakas, *Toward Transfigured Life: The Theoria of Eastern Orthodox Ethics* (Minneapolis, 1983), ch. 2.

character, virtue, vice, duties, rights, moral formation, ethical decision-making, and the personal and social praxis of the ethical life. Even the most particular moral directives will be rooted in the faith foundations which stand at the heart of the Eastern Orthodox ethic.

Therefore, one should not be surprised that the Orthodox approach to any ethical topic will be built upon the inherited doctrinal and ecclesial tradition and can only be considered compelling when it is in harmony with it and is preceived as a natural outgrowth and application of it. Such is the case as one approaches the question of the ethical evaluation of the body, and the endeavor to address the ethical issues now so prominently attached to it.

The Body in Eastern Orthodox Theology and Ethics

The place of the body in Eastern Orthodox Christian teaching is determined in large part by the Christian doctrine of creation. Its moral evaluation, not unexpectedly, comes out of the theological perception of its source and its place in the whole economy of salvation. The doctrinal and ecclesial sources of the doctrine of the body are many and varied, however the chief of these are the evaluation of creation, the creation of humanity in the image and likeness of God, the incarnation, the strong sacramental approach of Eastern Christianity, and the doctrine of the resurrection.

The Old Testament Genesis account, as understood within the Eastern Orthodox tradition, distinguishes sharply between the Creator who is God and the world which he has brought out of nothing and into existence through his creative divine energies.² Since, however, God is goodness itself, the product of his work of creation is good. Thus, the hebraic affirmation of the goodness of creation stands immediately in contrast to some strands of thought in the Greek environment into which Christianity was thrust in its early and formative years. These strands of thought saw the created world as evil.

Dualistic philosophical systems which preceived the material world as evil, in contrast to the spiritual world which was seen as good, very quickly were perceived by Christians as contradictory to basic Old and New Testament revelatory truths. While one side of the ancient Greco-Roman culture honored the body as a thing of goodness and beauty to be represented in art as an object of admiration, much of the philosophical tradition identified it with evil. Thus, Plato identified

²Gen 1 and 2.

it in the *Gorgias* as “our tomb,”³ affirming rather in his work *Alcibiades* that the “soul is the human being.”⁴ The Stoic philosopher, Marcus Aurelius, thus informed the reader of his *Meditationes* that “You are a poor soul, which carries about a dead body.”⁵

The understanding of the Old Testament of the creation of humanity in the image and the likeness of God clearly focused on the spiritual aspect of human nature, but refused to allow this approach to split the psychosomatic unity of human nature. For Christians, this was made theologically necessary not only because of the Old Testament assumption of this unity, but also because of the central affirmation of the doctrine of the incarnation of the second person of the Holy Trinity, the Son, into a fully human nature consisting of both body and spirit or soul. God was “enanthropized,” to use the Greek term in anglicized form: he took on the full nature of humanity, both body and soul. Thus could only mean that the human body was in itself good, for God could not himself assume that which was fundamentally evil. Saint Ephraim the Syrian in his writing on the transfiguration of Jesus Christ, dramatically affirms the physical side of the “enanthropized” Lord with a series of biblically based rhetorical questions, culminating in a restatement of the doctrinal affirmations of the Church’s ecumenical teaching on the incarnation. Here are four of Saint Ephraim’s thirty three affirmations of the divinity and the humanity of Christ:

. . . if he were not flesh, for what reason did Mary bring him forth? And if he were not God, who then did Gabriel call Lord?

If he were not flesh, who then lay in the manger? If he were not God, to whom did the angels coming on earth give glory?

If he were not man, who fasted and hungered in the desert? And if he were not God, to whom did the descending angels minister?

If he were not flesh, who wore the garments of a man? And if he were not God, who then was it that wrought signs and wonders?

Ephraim then restates the Orthodox Christology:

³3g, 3a.

⁴1, 130.

⁵4.41.

He is Christ the Son of God: the only-begotten of the Father, the only-begotten of his mother. And I confess that the same is perfect God and perfect man, who in his two natures is acknowledged to be indivisibly, unchangeably, and without confusion, united in the one *hypostasis* or person; clothed in living flesh, and having a soul that is endowed with reason and understanding, subject in all things to the same afflictions as ourselves, sin alone excepted.⁶

I have dwelt on this incarnational dimension, because it is the primary source of the subsequent vast liturgical development which in practically every phase is a sacramental reality which brings the whole of human life, including its most physical aspects, into the kingdom of God and reciprocally brings the divine presence to the created reality. Thus, in the sacramental system of the Orthodox faith, all kinds of material things are both vehicles of divine grace and objects of blessing and sanctification. Water, oil, bread, wine, metal, wood, incense, and paint are perceived as carriers of grace, and the humblest of concerns dealing with human life become objects of blessings.

The sacramental approach includes the human body as well. In its prayers the Church repeatedly includes petitions "for the health of body and soul." Moreover, from New Testament times the Christian Church has an ongoing concern for the healing of body and soul through the sacrament of holy Unction.⁷ This emphasis on "soul and body" is important for underscoring the incarnational emphasis on the distinction, but not the division, between the physical and the spiritual, the somatic and the spiritual dimensions of the single reality of the created world in general and human life in particular. The psychosomatic unity of human life is a permanent prolegomenon to the discussion of the human body in Orthodox thought and practice.

Perhaps the culmination of all of this doctrinal focus is to be seen in the heavy emphasis of the Orthodox Church on the twin beliefs of the bodily resurrection of Jesus Christ and the eschatologically anticipated resurrection of all persons at the second coming of Christ and the general judgment. This teaching is succinctly articulated in

⁶Vossio, *Sanctio Ephraem Syri Opera Omnia* (Cologne, 1616), p. 686; Jn 17.19.

⁷Jas 5.14-15.

the articles of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed: “. . . and he shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead. . . . I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come.”⁸ Such a view sees the body, then, in an ultimate sense, as an inseparable and permanent part of what it means to be a human being, and it rejects, again, in an ultimate sense a dualism of body and spirit.

Thus, in the patristic tradition the body finds its due appreciation, honor, and place. That there are some tendencies within the ethos of Eastern Orthodoxy in the opposite direction, that is, toward a dualism denigrating the body, especially in some streams of monastic thought, cannot be denied. Yet this excessive “spiritualization” of human life is repeatedly countered by an affirmation of the importance of the bodily dimension in the patristic tradition. Thus, an early voice in the life of the Church put this truth in a salvation perspective. The early Tertullian cautioned: “I would call your attention to this in order that you may know that all God’s purpose and promises to man are for the benefit not of the soul alone, but of the soul and the flesh”⁹ In his fourth century *Lenten Lectures*, Saint Cyril of Jerusalem in a section entitled “On the Ten Doctrines” says:

Let no one tell you that this body of ours is a stranger to God
What is it that they complain of in this wonderful body? For what does it lack in comeliness? What is there in its structure that is not wrought skillfully?

And with this he begins a litany of rhetorical questions culminating in an appreciation of the sexual, procreative function of the body: “Who, when the human race was likely to fail, made it perpetual by a simple conjunction, “thus indicating that sex, as well, is a gift of God?”¹⁰

Examples of this same struggle to maintain the importance and dignity of the body in Christian thinking are to be found in the canon law of the Church. The treatment of marriage is a case in point. Not only are married men ordained to the priesthood, but if the motive on the one hand for avoiding marriage by candidates for the clergy

⁸ Some New Testament passages affirming the resurrection of the body are: Mt 22.23ff., Jn 5.25-29; Acts 26.8; 1 Cor 6.14, 15.35-44; 2 Cor 4.14.

⁹ *The Resurrection of the Body* 5, 6.

¹⁰ *Catechesis* 4.22.

as seen in the thirteenth canon of the Sixth Ecumenical Synod, or on the other the breaking up of an already existing marriage of a clergyman, is "scornfulness of marriage," as it is described in the fifth Apostolic Canon—which, of course, is a dualistic position—it is condemned. This is true as well of laypersons as seen in the fourteenth canon of the Synod of Gangra.

The Church's treatment of the body, in addition to this basic respect, is seen also in two other dimensions. First, there is a small corpus of writings in which theological writers examine the body in what today we would call an "objective, scientific" manner. In another place, I have presented these writings in some detail.¹¹ One can mention in this connection the strong appreciation of Clement of Alexandria for the human body and his concrete and specific treatment of its parts in his writing, the *Stromata*. The work of the fourth-century bishop of Emesa, Nemesios, entitled *On the Nature of Man* is another example of this approach to the body. In chapter four, Nemesios deals with the physiological body and in chapter five with the materials from which it is formed. In subsequent chapters he treats of perception, sight, feeling, taste, hearing, and smell. His primary sources, it appears, are the medical writings of the physician Galen, yet he places these "scientific" observations within a Christian world view.¹² More familiar, though not widely studied, are the physiological portions of Saint John of Damascus' *Fount of Knowledge*, found even within the portion dealing with the Orthodox faith, known as "An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith."

Similar to Nemesios' treatment but much more detailed and objective, is the work of Meletios the Monk titled "Concerning the Construction of Man," which is a ninth- or tenth-century study by a physician-monk with obvious first-hand knowledge of human physiology but who also concurrently reflects the tradition of Aristotle, Galen, and Nemesios.¹³ In all these cases, however, the authors integrate their physiological descriptions into a larger view which sees the human being—body and spirit—as a microcosm of the universe with

¹¹"Christian Faith Concerning Creation and Biology," *La Théologie dans l'Église et dans le Monde. Études Théologiques* 4 (Chambesy, 1984), pp. 226-47.

¹²William Telfer, trans. *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa*, vol. 4 of *The Library of Christian Classics* (Philadelphia, 1955).

¹³PG 64.1075-1310.

a special calling to relate the body to nature, self, others, and God. Meletios ends his study with a beautiful paen to the dignity of the human being who is described as "sharing in the temporal and the eternal" and for whom the study of human anatomy is undertaken "... so that you might reverence the Lord's provident care for you, and that you may stand in awe of the work."¹⁴

Even from the perspective of Orthodox theology, the spiritual and physical unity of human life was a recurrent theme. Typical is Gregory of Nyssa's fourth-century work entitled *On the Making of Man*, which on the one hand distinguished the bodily, spiritual, and rational dimensions of human nature, but kept them closely together in a single unity, even though in his perspective, he tended to emphasize the rational nature of human life.

As important as this reverent attitude is, the ethical evaluation of the body and the care due to it is equally necessary to note. The sins associated with the body are clearly condemned by scripture and tradition, but the distinction is consistently made in tradition between the sins of the body and the body itself. The body, as a creature of God, is good, as we have already noted. It is a Pauline teaching that the body is properly characterized as the "temple of the Holy Spirit," a remarkable phrase which is uttered in the context of a discussion on the impropriety of sexual misconduct by Christians.¹⁵ Thus, the ethical teaching on the body can be distinguished, classically, into two general categories. The first deals with the distinction between the goodness of the body and inappropriate submission of it to sinful purposes. The second deals with the obligation and concern which the Christian has for the physical well-being of the body, that is, health and sickness. We will briefly examine the first of these to close this section, and begin the following section with the second.

The distinction between the body as the good creation of God and the body as a vehicle for a host of sins is not always clearly delineated, however, in Scripture. Often the impression of a confusion between the two takes place for the casual reader. Generally speaking, the New Testament Greek word "soma," usually, though not always translated "body" in English translations, refers in a more or less neutral way to the physical body, implying its moral goodness. Not so the word "sarx." This word is used in a number of different

¹⁴Ibid. 1277D

¹⁵1 Cor 6.15-19.

ways in the New Testament. One use is to designate human or bodily existence in general. Translated usually as "flesh," it can refer, for example to the incarnation of Christ, e.g. "σὰρξ ἐγένετο" (Jn 1.14). Or, it may be used to refer to human life in general. Thus, in Luke's phrase, the Holy Spirit is poured out "on all flesh," "ἐκχέω ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα." (Acts 2.17). Sometimes it can also mean "body" as opposed to "spirit" or "soul." Thus, Saint Paul writes in second Corinthians: "let us cleanse ourselves from every defilement of body (σαρκόσ) and soul (πνεύματος)" (7.1).

But very frequently, "sarx" means sin, or the sinful use of the body, or the mind-set which is opposed to the spiritual things of life. Thus in Ephesians Saint Paul says: "We all once lived in the passions of the flesh (σάρκα), following the desires of body and mind, so we were by nature children of wrath . . ." (2.3). Submitting one's self to the "desires of the flesh" creates a certain kind of mentality, a "fleshly mentality," which leads one away from God. This teaching is clearly articulated in the eighth chapter of Romans. Persons who are "fleshly," are not able to please God. Thus, the perspective of Saint Paul: "those who live according to the flesh set their minds on the things of the flesh, but those who live according to the spirit set their minds on the things of the spirit. To set the mind on the flesh is death, but to set the mind on the spirit is life and peace. For the mind that is set on the flesh is hostile to God; it does not submit to God's law, indeed, it cannot; and those who are in the flesh cannot please God" (Rom 8.5-8). It obviously, however, became easy to confuse the body itself with the "desires of the flesh." The hidden, yet always incipient moral dualism of the Greek tradition was frequently to appear in the spiritual literature of the Church and particularly the monastic tradition.

The patristic tradition, however, consistently found a place in the whole Christian lifestyle for the body, sometimes very sensitive to the body's susceptibility to sin, while at others, to its sacramental potential. A case for the more pessimistic view is Clement of Alexandria, whose perception of the body patrologist Margaret Miles has aptly and succinctly described as "either temple or tomb."¹⁶ On the side emphasizing the supreme sacramental and even mystical potentialities of the body is Gregory Palamas and the spiritual tradition

¹⁶Margaret R. Miles, *Fullness of Life: Historical Foundations for a New Asceticism* (Philadelphia, 1981), p. 43.

of Hesychasm. The latter, in spite of its emphasis on the Jesus Prayer and the imageless vision of God, always related its spiritual practices to the body. It was Saint Gregory Palamas' teaching that the incarnation of Christ is a pattern for the spiritual life of human beings. Palamas taught: "In the same way as the divinity of the Word Incarnate is common to soul and body . . . so in spiritual men, is the grace of the Spirit transmitted to the body."¹⁷ The middle of the road position, which is the most widely accepted in the patristic tradition can be represented by Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, who in the treatment of the body mentioned above, says:

Tell me not that the body is the cause of sin; . . . The body is the soul's instrument, its cloak and garment. If then it is given up to fornication by the soul, it becomes unclean; but if it dwells with a holy soul, it becomes a temple of the Holy Spirit . . . Defile not, then, your flesh in fornication; stain not your fairest garment. But if you have stained it, now cleanse it by repentance; for it is the time for purification.¹⁸

These commands then lead us to the third part of this presentation, to a brief assessment of the body as regards its place in the area of bioethics.

Approaches to the Body in the Contemporary Bioethical Discussion

This respect for the body in mainline patristic teaching led effortlessly to the ethical sense which proclaimed a moral responsibility for the care of the body, the concern for its health, and the responsibility to seek the cure of disease. Thus, representatively, Saint Basil could write the following:

Acquire an exact understanding of yourself, that you may know how to make a suitable allotment to each of the two sides of your nature; food and clothing to the body; and to the soul, the doctrines of piety, training in refined behavior, the practice of virtue, and the correction of vice.¹⁹

¹⁷Quoted in John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (Crestwood, 1964), p. 143.

¹⁸Lenten Lectures, pp. 130-31.

¹⁹"Give Heed to Thyself," *St. Basil: Ascetical Works*. trans. M. Monica Wagner (Washington, D.C., 1950), p. 435.

This consistent ethico-spiritual tradition of Eastern Christianity is abundantly witnessed to in the teachings of the great figures of spiritual discernment. An example is the nineteenth century Russian mystic and spiritual father, "Staretz" Saint Seraphim of Sarov. Some of his sayings on this issue which reflect the ongoing tradition are the following:

The body should be the soul's friend and help in the work of perfection . . .

We must take the greatest care of the soul, as for the body, we must look after it proportionately as it serves the soul well. If we exhaust our bodies to the point of also exhausting our spirits, we are like madmen . . .

Since man possesses both body and soul, his life is of necessity both corporeal and spiritual, action and contemplation.²⁰

The proceedings of the 1984 conference on "Byzantine Medicine" will be published in the forthcoming volume of the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. This remarkable collection of papers provides a mass of historical detail, building upon Demetrios Constantelos' research²¹ on the importance of the practice of healing in the Orthodox Christian tradition. Insurmountable evidence is presented to show that by and large, though with some exceptions, spiritual healing and rational medicinal healing were understood to be complementary to each other and not contradictory or opposed to each other in Byzantium. Frequently, the healing shrine and the hospital were within close proximity to each other. Strong evidence indicates that each referred patients to the other.

Significant also is the fact that until the eleventh century the hospitals were almost exclusively built, supported, and administered by the Church. Physicians were the employees of the Church in their hospital work. Concurrently, the Church's sacrament of unction, which promised to the sick healing of body and

²⁰Quoted in Valentine Zander, *St. Seraphim of Sarov*, trans. Sr. Gabriel Anne (Crestwood, 1975), pp. 8, 104, 106.

²¹*Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, 1968).

soul, consisted during these eleven centuries of variations of two prayers whose source was in the fourth-century compilation of earlier liturgical materials, known as the *Sacramentary of Serapion*. The one prayer was for the consecration of the healing oil, and the other was used at its administration. In the eleventh century, physicians wrested control of the hospitals away from the Church. It seems significant that concurrently, in the eleventh century, the rubrics for the sacrament of unction were radically enriched to its present form with seven epistle readings, seven Gospel readings, seven prayers, and seven sets of petitions. Clearly, the Church did not want to abandon its healing ministry, which included concern for both the health of the body and the soul, when it lost control of the hospitals. I have described in detail these observations in a chapter in a forthcoming volume on *Health and Medicine in the Religious Traditions*.

The integrative approach to the body which has been described above provides the basis for my next set of comments. In a book of bioethics widely used in seminary classrooms, *Human Medicine*, by James B. Nelson, another approach to the body is adopted.²² The volume's main strength is the excellent presentation of the rationales used by conflicting schools of thought on the issues of concern for human health, abortion, artificial insemination, human experimentation, genetics, dying, organ transplants, and the distribution of medical care resources. As much as I appreciate Nelson's clear, balanced and fair presentation of the alternative approaches to these issues, I find myself disagreeing with him on nearly every conclusion to which he comes on these topics. In the inside front cover of this volume I have written my judgment on the reason for this persistent difference between us: "Nelson's basic error in ethical reasoning: the spiritual-psychological- soul-personhood dimension in practice *supplants* the biological-physical. Theologically this book tends toward a gnostic or dualist rejection of the bodily claim."

The February, 1985 issue of *The Hastings Center Report*, a major bioethics journal, was largely dedicated to issues in bioethics relating to the body, including the "Baby Fae" issue, the treatment of dead bodies, artificial hearts and the donation of body parts. A reflective article in a philosophical mode by Leon R. Kass, Henry R. Luce Professor of the Liberal Arts of Human Biology at the

²²James B. Nelson, *Human Medicine: Ethical Perspectives on New Medical Issues* (Minneapolis, 1973).

University of Chicago, is worth noting here. Kass shows that in today's intellectual climate both out and out physicalist approaches, and those claiming to focus on human personhood, essentially deny what we have here described as the integrative approach, and which is espoused by Eastern Orthodox Christian theology and ethics. Kass' description, I believe, shows why I as an Orthodox Christian ethicist found Nelson's approaches and conclusions to be inadequate. He says:

On one side are the corporealists, for whom there is nothing but body and who aspire to explain all activities of life, including thought and feeling, in terms of the motions of inorganic particles. On the other side, say especially in ethics, are the theorists of personhood, consciousness, and autonomy, who treat the essential human being as pure will and reason, as if bodily life counted for nothing, or did not even exist.

Kass proceeds to make what I feel is a foundational point which is essential to the direction of the bioethical effort especially as it relates to the presuppositions with which we approach bioethical decision-making. He continues:

The former seeks to capture man for dumb and mindless nature; the latter treats man in isolation, even from his own nature. At the bottom of the trouble, I suspect, is the hegemony of modern natural science, to whose view of nature even the partisans of personhood and subjectivity adhere, given that their attempt to locate human dignity in consciousness and mind presupposes that the subconscious living body, not to speak of nature in general, is utterly without dignity or meaning of its own.²³

Kass concludes his article with a negative judgment on the dominant mind-set in current bioethical thinking, a judgment which in many ways reflects Eastern Orthodox Christian thinking on the wide range of bioethical questions we face today. I quote this remarkable article once again:

²³Leon R. Kass, "Thinking About the Body," *The Hastings Center Report*, 15, No. 1 (Feb., 1985) 20.

[W]ith our dissection of cadavers, organ transplantation, cosmetic surgery, body shops, laboratory fertilization, surrogate wombs, gender-change surgery, "wanted" children, "rights over our bodies," sexual liberation, and other practices and beliefs that insist on our independence and autonomy, we live more and more wholly for the here and now, subjugating everything we can to the exercise of our wills, with little respect for the nature and meaning of bodily life. We expend enormous energy and vast sums of money to preserve and prolong bodily life, but ironically, in the process bodily life is stripped of its gravity and much of its dignity. (We have become) rational but without wonder, willful but without reverence . . . ²⁴

This is not to take a wholesale negative approach to the new developments of modern medicine. It is however, a way of showing that the traditional Eastern Orthodox Christian integrative approach to the body will of necessity influence bioethical thinking in a direction very often different from those perspectives which are informed by fundamentally contrary perceptions of the body. In the effort to develop a coherent Eastern Orthodox approach to the ethical challenges presented to us by the feats of modern medical science, there will be a distinct and coherent Eastern Orthodox perspective, built solidly on a view of human life which neither absolutizes the body, nor trivializes it to the point where its impact on ethical decision-making is negated. In remaining committed to its wholistic approach to human life, as it struggles to work out its bioethical teaching,²⁵ Eastern Orthodox ethics must keep before it continually its vision of the body and its significant place in the total meaning of human life. This vision cannot otherwise but contribute, together with many other Orthodox Christian foundational affirmations, toward the development of a distinctive bioethical teaching.

It would not surprise me at all, that traditions which have come to a similar integrative and wholistic perception of the human body, may find themselves much in agreement on the various issues of bioethics, which perhaps justifies the treatment of this topic as Eastern Orthodox Christians and Muslims meet to dialogue.

²⁴Ibid. p. 30.

²⁵See, for example, two of my own first efforts in this direction, *For the Health of Body and Soul*, (Brookline, 1980) and *Contemporary Moral Issues Facing the Orthodox Christian* (Minneapolis, 1982).

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Reviews

Orthodox Dogmatic Theology: A Concise Exposition. By Protopresbyter Michael Pomazansky. Trans. from the Russian by Hieromonk Seraphim (Rose). Platina, CA: St. Herman of Alaska Brotherhood, 1984. Pp. 413. \$20.00, paper.

Can one understand the Orthodox faith without Scripture and the Fathers? The answer is obvious. Can one live the faith without essential spiritual practices? Of course not. Can one have a basic understanding of theology without studying dogmatics? The answer is equally obvious. Whether we consider dogmatic theology a "Western innovation," whether we define with precision and care the unique Orthodox understanding of what *dogmata* are, or whether we equivocate about the problems of systematic theology, as opposed to high-sounding philosophical approaches to theology—whatever our particular quirk about theology, we *still* must turn to the basic dogmas and principles of the Church by which the Deity, Christian anthropology, Mariology, redemption, sin, evil, guilt, economy, creation, eschatology, and so on are understood. Whatever the flaws present in such things, basic catechisms and books about church dogmas are indispensable. The present book is such a book and one which avoids many of the pitfalls of usual dogmatic texts. The book is an absolute requirement for every pious Orthodox Christian, every student of theology, and, to be sure, every would-be "theologian." It is one of those books which should become a classic in Orthodox literature in the English language.

This superb volume is dedicated to all of those who follow the "Royal Path" in spiritual and theological life: that of moderation. It is a book which champions moderation—the same moderation which characterized the life and writings of its translator, the late and saintly Father Seraphim of the Saint Herman of Alaska Monastery in Platina, California. Father Michael Pomazansky, now with nearly a century

of life within the Russian Orthodox Church, was one of the last living links to the Kiev Theological Academy of pre-revolutionary Russia. Everywhere in his book one finds evidence to belie the mistaken and curious notion that the Kievan school, which knew such Latin captivity in the eighteenth century that the late Protopresbyter Georges Florovsky often called that century the "Roman Era in the Ukraine," did not, in the course of the last several centuries, re-establish a sound Orthodox theological base. Indeed, Father Michael himself argues (p. 40) that the kinds of systematic theologies on which his work is based are not unknown in patristic writings, citing Saint John the Damascene's exposition of the Orthodox faith. By the same token, Father Seraphim, in one of his excellent notes (p. 40, n. 24) points out that systematic theologies, while borrowed from the West, can, when representing correct Orthodox teaching, be quite useful. This is both a moderate assessment and an expression of moderation with regard to so-called "Westernized" theology. It well describes the Orthodoxy which was re-established in Kiev after the "Western captivity."

The translator and the author of *Orthodox Dogmatic Theology* have been active clergymen in the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, the latter as a professor at the Holy Trinity Seminary in Jordanville, New York. There is, therefore, an immediate suspicion, on the part of some readers, that the book will represent some of the extreme ecclesiological views of a minority faction in that Orthodox jurisdiction. This is not at all the case. Here, too, a sense of moderation prevails (as evidenced by the very acceptable apology of Father Seraphim for the Russian Church Abroad [235f, n. 1], a complement to Father Michael's excellent ecclesiological points). The book has a universal scope and tone which commend it to a general, thoughtful, moderate audience. Those who find objections of a general kind to the book undoubtedly miss these qualities or lack them themselves.

If Father Michael's book is a patristic exposition of the faith (having the tone of a patristic synthesis that might have pleased the late Father Florovsky) and a tone which overcomes the limitations of Western systematic theologies in its perfect Orthodoxy, the translation, too, is wholly Orthodox. Father Seraphim avoids the use of Western theological terms—which have crept everywhere into Orthodox texts in translation—properly contrasting the Orthodox and heterodox views of various subjects (a contrast which makes this book especially vivid) even in the nomenclature which he employs. He thus

speaks of the “mysteries” of the Church, rather than sacraments, though I would, while acknowledging that the usage “sacramental” for the adjectival form avoids much misunderstanding that might result from an expression like “mystical life” to describe the Church’s grace-giving functions, disagree that the Latin “sacrament” was interchangeable with the Greek word “mysterion” in the pre-Schism Church (see p. 261, n. 2). There are a few objectionable Latinisms in this translation, one glaring example being the rather unpleasant use of “Passion Wednesday” for Great Wednesday of the Lenten Great Week (p. 307, n. 11). This is a rather common expression. It does nothing to flaw the precise language otherwise used in the book and the fact that it occurs in a footnote and not in the text proper is worth noting.

Before directing some brief comments toward the text, which is monumental, I would like to cite a few minor problems that later printings of this book should avoid. Firstly, it should have been made clear at the beginning of the book that the added footnotes are those of the translator and that the author has incorporated his own footnotes into the text itself (which, incidentally, is used at Holy Trinity Seminary in Jordanville, in its Russian original, as a textbook). Also, an addendum was apparently added to the “Preface to the English Translation” (p. 11), which was compiled after the author’s death from Father Seraphim’s notes, yet has him referred to as the “recently reposed translator,” over Father’s signature. This should be corrected as well. While the index is very good, there should be reference to such basic notions as “economy” and “ecumenism,” the first being at least tangentially treated and the second appearing in many important discussions in the book. While a list of *errata* appears on p. 413, there are some typographic errors which should be excluded from future printings: p. 24, *dogma*, not *dogmat*; p. 165, Karmiris, not Karmiria (though this may have been an error in my own text, which is being quoted); p. 234, *eis mian*, not *en mian*; p. 299, *cheirothesia*, not *cheirotesia*; p. 311 (in the quotation from Saint John) should, not sould; p. 387, Athanasios’, not Athanasios. There are also a few insignificant slips in referring to the Fathers and saints of the Church without titles, though this is not offensive, as it is in texts which treat our great teachers and doctors as though they were “old Joe” who owns the corner auto parts store. All of the errors and problems which I have cited are absolutely minor. I cite them only so that future printings of this text may be as externally perfect as they are internally inspiring.

This book is so essential that it demands a few comments, as I promised above, with regard to its various themes. I cannot, of course, be anything but selective, since a complete review would take many pages. I will attempt, therefore, to touch on a few of the excellent subjects treated by Father Michael, not meaning to be at all exhaustive and certainly not meaning to suggest that the important matters which I do not cite are in any way secondary or poorly treated. The entire book is a rich treasury which nourishes the soul and which simply drips with theological and spiritual wisdom, if I may be allowed such an expression.

The introduction to this volume is a veritable collection of theological wit, ranging from comments on the nature of Orthodoxy itself to discussions of the Symbol of the Faith (the Creed) and *theologoumena*. With regard to this latter concept, Father Michael points out that many of the great Fathers of the Church, while attaining to the mind of the Fathers and generally contributing to and availing themselves of the patristic consensus, held some private opinions which were not consistent with the universal view of the Church. This subtle point is often misunderstood by contemporary Orthodox and leads to such things as the rather absurd notion, among those insufficiently schooled in patristic philosophy, that great Fathers such as the Blessed Augustine (or Saint Augustine, since the artificial Latin distinction between “Blessed” and “Saint,” despite the views of Orthodox who fancy themselves ultra-conservative traditionalists, does not apply in the Orthodox Church) are not saints, since their teachings were flawed by non-Orthodox ideas or unbalanced views of various Orthodox subjects (cf. p. 38). In a very concise and articulate footnote on this subject (p. 38, n. 22), Father Seraphim expands on Father Michael’s comments, citing as examples of great Fathers who held erroneous private views Saint Gregory Nyssa and the Blessed Augustine also. (Readers may wish to see my review of Father Seraphim’s short book, *The Place of Blessed Augustine in the Orthodox Church*, which appeared in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* and which further develops this theme as it relates to this great Father.)

The section on the Holy Trinity is one of the finest in the book, brilliantly and simply presenting the Orthodox view of the Godhead. Naturally, Father Michael addresses himself to the issue of the *filioque* clause, doing so with a clarity that is seldom found. He very appropriately discusses the Latin confusion between the personal existence of the hypostases and the oneness of God’s essence, clearly explaining

procession and begetting (see especially Father Seraphim's excellent footnote on p. 83, n. 1, as distinguished from the *monos aitios* ("sole cause") which is a necessary prerequisite for an intelligent grasp of the idea of the monarchy of God—an idea which is misunderstood in an almost ludicrous way in the West, one poor fellow of my acquaintance having defended political monarchy on the principle of God's monarchy! In discussing the Trinitarian dogmas of the Orthodox Church, Father Michael politely but resolutely points out that the Latin attitude toward this dogma, while condescending in its view that Orthodox are resistant to dogmatic development (the "development" of dogma being, in fact, foreign to Orthodoxy), is in itself rather limited, if not at times stupid (see pp. 83ff.).

Father Michael is especially careful and commendable in his discussions of the Mariology of the Orthodox Church (pp. 189-91) and the Orthodox concept of redemption. His comments on the catholicity of the Church (p. 240ff.) present further material of an extraordinarily useful and clear kind. In his view of the heterodox Christians (p. 244ff.), Father Michael combines an exemplary Christian attitude of charity with a very sober view of Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Uniates.

The chapters on prayer and eschatology are extremely well-written and thought-provoking, clearly balancing the patristic witness with a pastoral tone that reflects the priestly experience of an author who has served the Church the majority of nearly one hundred years in Orthodoxy. There are small gems of wisdom to be found throughout these chapters. Let me mention just one. Father Michael's discussion of the relics of saints presents one with a wonderfully balanced spiritual view, showing that, while prayer can have a physical effect (in preserving the body by virtue of the grace flowing from spiritual practice), the incorruption of a body is not always the sign of sanctity (see p. 326, especially Father Seraphim's comments, n. 3). The notes on eschatology are wise in their avoidance of literalism, yet quite striking in that they do not allow the rather inane metaphorical characterizations of the end of times that are so popular among those who, clouded by their intellectual arrogance, cannot bring themselves to believe that God does, indeed, have efficacy in the history of man. The condemnation of chiliasm, which is preached in modern Protestant sects openly, is timely. And Father Michael's advice that the interested Orthodox Christian consult Saint Cyril's *Catechetical Lectures* on this subject is good advice (though the Eerdman's translation suggested by Father Seraphim [p. 337, n. 2] is so poor that

one finds almost every paragraph lamentable).

The appendices attached to the book are excellent. They provide very simple explanations of the major heresies of the early Church, giving the reader inexperienced in theological readings a handy reference list and some notion of what it is that the Church's dogmatic formulations were structured to oppose. The summaries of the contributions of the Fathers are a bit limited, but are nonetheless useful.

This is a particularly important book at a time when theological learning is at a crisis. Many of our Orthodox theological thinkers have actually succumbed to strange doctrines—if sincerely—simply because we do not have many systematic theologies of a strictly Orthodox kind and because we are so bombarded by thoughts foreign to Orthodoxy in a religiously pluralistic society. Finally, Father Michael and Father Seraphim have given a wonderful little volume to help us in correctly formulating an Orthodox theological view, replete with all of the classical qualities of good Orthodoxy: humility, moderation, and circumspection. I hope that we are all able to receive this book with personal attributes to match these spiritual qualities.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
Etna, California

An Explorer of Realms of Art, Life, and Thought: A Survey of the Works of Philosopher and Theologian Constantine Cavarnos. Belmont, MA: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1985. Pp. 184.

This beautifully bound and printed book is a rare one—and one long needed and desired by many. It is a book about one of the most outstanding and distinguished Greek-American scholars of the last three decades by an equally eminent scholar and friend of the former: a book by Professor John Rexine about Professor Constantine Cavarnos. It is striking that both of these men were outstanding Harvard students, both *magna cum laude* at the baccalaureate level, both having earned their doctorates at Harvard, and both having distinguished themselves as Fulbright scholars. It is also worthy of note that both are trained in traditional, non-theological fields (Cavarnos in philosophy and Rexine in the Classics), in which they have published widely, and yet have earned solid reputations as theologians. This last fact, I might note parenthetically, has prompted the directors of the Center of Traditionalist Studies, an eminent board of scholars on which both

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Ottoman Views and Policies Towards the Orthodox Christian Church

KEMAL H. KARPAT

THE CONQUEST of Constantinople by Sultan Mehmet II, the Conquerer (1451-1481), was a turning point in the history of Muslim-Christian relations as well as a landmark of the political and cultural philosophy of the Ottoman state itself.¹ Some scholars have adopted highly subjective views of this event. Hellenists have looked in general upon the fall of the Byzantium as the beginning of the subjection to servility—if not outright slavery—of the Orthodox Christians by the Muslims, the terms “Turk” and “Muslim” having become in their minds synonymous. Turkophiles, on the other hand, have viewed the passing away of the last vestige of the Roman Empire as an inevitable conclusion of the Turkish march towards world domination and invincible primacy among Muslims. Indeed the Turks had triumphed where the Arabs had failed and left behind one of the Prophet’s companions entombed in the area which today is one of the largest districts of Istanbul and still bears his name, i.e., Eyub or Ayub.

The truth is that neither of these two subjective views is accurate or even comes close to describing the real situation created by the concordat, the agreement reached by the sultan and the Orthodox patriarch concerning the fate of Orthodox Christianity under Muslim rule. The encounter between the sultan and Gennadios is famous, although its full dimensions and eventful consequences are largely

¹On Mehmet, see Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit* (Munich, 1953). There is also an English translation by W. Hickman.

ignored or misunderstood. In fact, the troubled Turkish-Greek political relations that developed after 1821, and especially the rampant nationalist thought which swamped the Ottoman lands after 1856, have blurred and distorted writers' and scholars' intellectual vision and sense of equity toward the history of Ottoman relations with Orthodox Christianity and the Orthodox patriarch.

The history of Orthodox Christianity under Ottoman rule is to a large extent that of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople. Consequently, a correct appraisal of the history of that Patriarchate after 1453, of its legal, political, and social status in the Ottoman world and of its relations with the government, should shed light on the true situation of the Orthodox Christians and, notably, illuminate the role of the Greek element in Ottoman Christianity. For this reason the encounter of Mehmet II and George Scholarios, who is better known by his monastic name of Gennadios, and the actual content of the agreement reached between them, are of special significance for appraising the Ottoman attitudes and policies towards Orthodox Christianity. It should be noted that in the sixteenth century the Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem also came under Ottoman rule and that the patriarchs of these ancient sees theoretically were equal to the patriarch in Istanbul. However, in due time the Patriarchate of Constantinople acquired supremacy, not only because it was located in the capital and was thus close to the source of imperial power but also because it was a partner of the Ottoman rulers: their new role and consequent ascendancy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople was a direct consequence of the agreement with the sultan. The point to be stressed is that the Ottoman expansion into Syria and Egypt brought about also the expansion of the authority of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate into Asia and united the Orthodox Christians of Europe and the Orient into a single political unit. Thus the unity destroyed by the Arabs in the seventh century was restored by the Turks in the sixteenth century. I shall deal at length later with the topic of the renewed Orthodox unity under the Ottomans.

I return now to the 1453 concordat of Mehmet II and Gennadios, as this agreement shows the true nature of Muslim-Orthodox Christian relations. The known facts briefly are the following. Shortly after the fall of Constantinople on 29 May 1453, Sultan Mehmet II accepted Gennadios as Patriarch, following his election by a duly constituted body (Gregory Mammas, the incumbent unionist patriarch, had fled

in 1451, so the position was vacant). It is clear therefore that the patriarch was not appointed by the sultan but elected by the synod, although the approval of the sultan was necessary. Steven Runciman claims that initially Gennadios was captured and sold as a slave but was found one month later in Adrianople (Edirne) and brought before the sultan, who persuaded him to become patriarch.² Runciman derived this information chiefly from George Sphrantzes' *Chronicon* and Kritovoulos' history of Mehmet the Conqueror. Hayrullah Efendi, on the other hand, in his history *Kitab-i samin*, gives a different version of what happened. According to Hayrullah, the sultan provided Gennadios with a beautiful horse from the imperial stable, adorned with a silver saddle, and received the patriarch and his suite of Orthodox prelates while standing. For the Sultan to receive someone standing was a very rare display of respect. After discussions with Gennadios, Mehmet II personally gave him a scepter as the symbol of his authority. The Byzantine emperor's symbol of power thus passed to the hands of the Patriarch. According to Hayrullah Efendi, the sultan told Gennadios that "you should implement the [old] patriarch's authority and laws in absolute safety and freedom as well as the new rules [laws]. You may solicit my assistance by appealing directly to me."³ Other Turkish sources state that the sultan gave Gennadios not only the privileges and freedoms enjoyed by the Orthodox patriarchs under the Byzantine emperors, but far more extensive powers than he ever possessed in the past.⁴ Sphrantzes himself stated that the sultan and Gennadios together worked out a constitution for the Greek millet, but the sultan's special decree recognizing the integrity of Christian churches in Constantinople apparently perished in a fire and is thus not available to scholars. After a sumptuous dinner given by the sultan in his honor, the patriarch was conducted to his office—that is, the Church of the Holy Apostles—accompanied by all the viziers and other high Ottoman dignitaries present at the feast. It may be noted that at this point the Church of the Holy Apostles was ranked second only to the Church of Hagia

²*The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 169.

³Hayrullah Efendi, *Kitab-i Samim*, p. 84. Runciman gives a similar version, writing that the sultan told Gennadios, "Be patriarch with good fortune, and be assured of our friendship keeping all the privileges the patriarchs before you enjoyed" (*Great Church*, p. 155).

⁴See *Yeni Osmanli Tarihi*, vol. 2, p. 127.

Sophia and had been spared from looting by the Sultan's direct orders. A large number of churches, as well as several districts in the city, such as Psamatheia, that surrendered without resistance remained intact. Discounting the obviously inflated tales of Muslim looting and destruction and considering carefully some of the Ottoman survey statistics dating from the time of conquest, one comes to the conclusion that a substantial number of the Orthodox Christians of Constantinople passed peacefully under the Muslim rule and maintained their wealth and religious institutions. It should not be forgotten that at the time of the conquest the population of Constantinople consisted of only about 60,000 people. A century later the population had grown to over half a million, of which at least one third was Christian. It is very well known that Mehmet II would have preferred a peaceful surrender, so as to keep the city intact, rather than a capture by assault, which under Muslim law gave the soldiers the right to loot for a period of three days. In fact, shortly after the conquest a number of Muslims, including even some of the government dignitaries, complained that the sultan had accorded to the Orthodox Christians too generous and too lenient a treatment. The sultan rejected these complaints as not being in accordance with Islam's concept of protection to be given to conquered Peoples of the Book. Later the Muslims in the city complained also about the privileged treatment received by the Christian settlers, who acquired in preference to Muslims land deeds and building sites.

Nevertheless, conquest is a very traumatic experience for the conquered, even under the best of circumstances, and certainly the Christians of Constantinople were not excepted from such shock. To read a few pages from Doukas' *Historia Turko-Byzantina* is to realize the depth of their grief. To Doukas, Mehmet II "even before he was born was a wolf putting on sheep's clothing . . . who, by donning the mask of friendship, transformed himself into a serpent." He also called Mehmet a "disciple of Satan."⁵ And yet, what an enormous difference emerges when one compares the conquest of Constantinople by Turks with, say, the conquest of Valencia by the Spanish; in no time at all the latter had destroyed the Muslim culture and religion and made the surviving Muslims into serfs on their own lands, which were given as estates to the army commanders who became the new Spanish

⁵See the English version, *The Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, trans. Harry J. Magoulas (Detroit, 1975), p. 191.

aristocracy.⁶ Today, Valencia does not have a single Muslim monument left standing, or even a Muslim ruin, while Istanbul has preserved a large number of Byzantine monuments.

That the situation of the Orthodox Church under the Muslim Turks was, in fact, relatively good becomes more evident when one studies the record of the Fourth Crusade, the armies of which occupied Constantinople with the blessing of Pope Innocent III, despite his overt prohibition against attacking Christian countries. After having occupied the city, the crusaders insulted and abused every symbol of Orthodoxy there, including the patriarch's throne, on which they seated a prostitute who entertained them by singing bawdy French songs. Niketas Choniates contrasted the savagery of these "forerunners of the Antichrist" in thirteenth-century Constantinople with the restraint of the Saracens (Arabs) in Jerusalem who had "respected the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and molested neither the person nor the property of the conquered Christians."⁷ Again in contrast to Mehmet II, who respected the Byzantine traditions by accepting Gennadios as the Orthodox Christians' patriarch, the Venetians appointed Thomas Morosini as the first Latin patriarch, and he was confirmed by Rome. As if it were not enough to deprive the Greeks of the Patriarchate, the Latin conquerors of Constantinople allowed the papacy to impose its views, opposed by Orthodox Christianity and the Greek clergy, on some basic matters of doctrine and ritual. To impose the will of Rome became the Latins' basic principle, which Spanish Cardinal Pelagius, who came in Constantinople as a papal legate in 1213, implemented by closing the Orthodox churches and by throwing Orthodox priests in jail. Although there were some Latins who treated the Orthodox Church with respect, the majority of them despised and insulted it.

The Latin treatment of the Orthodox Church is significant for it affected profoundly the later relations of Orthodox Christians to the Muslim Turks. By the time Michael VII Palaiologos was able to retake Constantinople in 1261, the official Orthodox Church, as well as the Christian population of the city, had become fully disenchanted with the West, notably with the Roman Church that had sanctioned

⁶See Robert Burns, Jr., *Islam Under the Crusade, Colonial Survival in Thirteenth-Century Valencia* (Princeton, 1973).

⁷*The Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 4, The Byzantine Empire, Part I* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 280-86.

military conquest of Constantinople and blessed the division of Byzantine lands into fiefs for various Latin lords. Realistically speaking, it was the Latin conquest of Constantinople, not the Turks, that put the *de facto* end to the Byzantine Empire. The remark, attributed sometimes to Princess Irene and sometimes to the Grand Duke Notaras, that the turban of the Turk was preferable to the tiara of the Pope reflected feeling caused by the oppressive treatment of the Orthodox Christians by the western knights of the Fourth Crusade.

I will add here that the social factor independent of the other forces was by itself instrumental in shifting the sympathy of the Orthodox Christian peasantry towards the Muslim Turks. Indeed, the relatively easy Turkish conquest of the Balkans and the relative success of their rule over the vast numbers of Orthodox Christians in the area was the product not only of the absolute freedom they granted to Christians who remained Christian and continued to practice their Orthodox faith, but also of the welcome elimination of the oppressive, Western style feudalism in force there and of the *pronoia* system of land tenure practiced by the Byzantium. The *timar* system introduced by the Muslims favored the peasant, because it gave him, as tenant, various concrete rights over the land and its produce and entitled him to ask protection and redress in the official courts. The peasant no longer dealt with an absolute landlord but with the State and its officials, who were bound by the rule of law. The socioeconomic factors which facilitated the Ottoman conquest and rule of the Balkans have been studied in great detail by the late O. L. Barkan and are too well known to be discussed here.⁸ The peasant had his daily bread and his faith assured under the Muslim rule, and in the end these proved to be the essential forces conditioning his attitudes towards his rulers.

Hostility to a varying degree on the part of Christians of Orthodox persuasion toward the Latin branch of the Church—the legacy of European attempts to dominate through military conquest and repression in the thirteenth century—was thus a prominent background condition at the time of the fifteenth-century Gennadios-Mehmet II Concordat. Before proceeding further with my analysis of Ottoman views and policies toward the Orthodox Church after the conquest

⁸See Barkan's "Feodal Düzen ve Osmanlı Timari" (The Feudal System and the Ottoman Timar) and other articles in *Türkiyede Toprak Meseleleri* (Istanbul, 1980), pp. 725-904.

of Constantinople, I would like to review the events that led to the Ottoman decision to take the city. In the third decade of the fifteenth century the sultans were masters of all the lands around Constantinople. Thus the capture of the city did not seem vital to Ottoman strategic interests as it would have had their hold on the Balkans still been precarious. Already Byzantium had become a tributary of the Ottoman state. Murad II, the predecessor of Mehmet the Conqueror, could thus afford to conclude with the Byzantine emperor agreements accepting the integrity of the Byzantine capital and a few other cities. Murad's policy of maintaining good relations with Byzantium was supported by the viziers of the Candarli family, and Halil Candarli (called by Dukas "*gavur ortagi*"—partner of the infidels⁹) opposed until the last, the proposed conquest of Constantinople,⁹ even during the final council held only a day or so before the final assault on the city. Mehmet had been from the beginning in favor of taking the city for strategic military reasons. He considered that as long as the Byzantine emperor held his throne in Constantinople and the Genoese and Venetians held control of the Mediterranean, the Ottoman state would always be in danger either of being attacked from the rear or of facing a frontal assault, as was the case in the crusade that was mounted shortly after the conclusion of the Council of Florence in 1439.

The Council of Florence was called for the purpose of establishing unity between Constantinople and Rome. At the Council it was agreed that the Orthodox Christians would accept the supremacy of the Pope and, in addition, that a new crusade would be mounted to drive the Turks from Europe. This agreement was desired by John III Palaiologos, who sought, through his submission to Rome, to obtain Western help against the Ottomans, while, at the same time, assuring for himself the Byzantine throne. The Ottoman leaders correctly interpreted this as an immediate threat to their position in the Balkans and viewed the union agreement as effectively negating Sultan Murat II's previous agreement to leave Constantinople unconquered. Indeed, the immediate result of the Florence agreement was a crusade headed by Ianos Hunyade of Hungary. Hunyade won a series of initial victories against the Turks in 1443 but was eventually defeated, although with great difficulty, at Varna in 1444 and again in 1448

⁹See Halil Inalcik, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* (Research and Documents on the Epoch of the Conqueror) (Ankara, 1954), pp. 11-13.

at Belgrade. During his march through the area that today is northern Bulgaria and Serbia, Hunyade demonstrated that the Latin distrust of and contempt for the Orthodox faith had not diminished: he used such brutal and merciless methods to force the Orthodox Christians to reject their faith and become papists that when the Muslim armies won back the territory they were greeted as liberators and saviors.

Thus the Ottomans were stimulated by the "unity" agreement of the Council of Florence to finish off once and for all the hostile Byzantine power by conquering its capital, despite some fairly powerful voices that continued to urge that Murat II's policy of leaving the city alone be adhered to. In fact, had the final assault of 29 May 1453 failed, the siege would have been lifted, as was continuously demanded by Grand Vizier Candarli. However, the attack succeeded and Constantinople fell. The war party among the Ottoman leadership—including hawks such as Zaganos paşa, Şahabeddin paşa, and Turahan bey—was greatly strengthened and its leaders became more powerful in the government, while the old vizier, Candarli, was jailed and then executed (creating a profound moral crisis among the members of the government).¹⁰ After this conquest of Constantinople, however, Mehmet II himself adopted the policy, advocated by Candarli, of friendship and conciliation toward the Byzantine. Mehmet found that his own fear and mistrust of the Papacy and of the Catholic powers of the West were shared by most of the Orthodox clergy and by the overwhelming majority of the Orthodox subjects. George Genadios Scholarios was one of the signatories of the union pact at Florence but later, as was so with many of his colleagues, regretted his part in the Council and turned against Rome. He came to view union with Rome as a greater danger to the culture and identity of Orthodox believers and of the Greeks as a whole than the political and military threat posed by the Muslims. Thus, the Muslim Turks and anti-unionist Orthodox Christian Greeks found themselves politically united against the papacy and the Latin states — although for very different reasons. The anti-Latin policy of the Ottomans continued after the Reformation. Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent and his followers became active supporters of the Protestants, including the Huguenots in France, and it was thanks to this sympathy towards the Protestant cause that the Calvinists were able to establish a strong

¹⁰*Ibid.* p. 135.

foothold in southern Hungary, then under Ottoman rule, and that the British and Dutch were given trading privileges.

I recalled to mind the above facts, which are well known to scholars, simply as a background against which I now set out the fact that I believe to be crucial in explaining the psychological and sociological roots of the concordat between Sultan Mehmet II and Gennadios, the former anti-unionist leader. It is the following. The Christian churches of the Eastern Roman Empire were able, for historical and cultural reasons specific to the eastern Mediterranean area, to blend faith and ethnicity in an amalgam that became the very basis of the identity of their adherents. The Christian Orthodox religion, with its special doctrines, rituals, and costumes, bore the strong imprint of the people who had created its particular religious—ethnic character—i.e. the Greeks—but was not nationally identified with them. However, the acceptance of the supremacy of Rome involved for this Church the imposition of a variety of foreign symbols, customs, and ways of worship upon a whole nation of people known as Christian Orthodox, for whom the spokesmen were the Greeks. Whereas in the West one could be a German, Catalan, or French first and a papist second, in the East a Greek, a Bulgarian, or a Serb, etc. was first an Orthodox Christian and a member of a universal congregation and only second a member of an ethnic group. It was the same for the Muslims, who belonged first to the universal community of Islam and then to some tribal, linguistic, or ethnic group. While in the Hellenic period of the Byzantine empire the emphasis certainly shifted somewhat toward the identification of the faith with “Greekness,” this identification did not reach the level of ethnic or racial nationalism until the nineteenth century. For the Muslims, only in the twentieth century did national identity begin to become predominant. When Mehmet II recognized Gennadios, by then head of the anti-unionist forces, as the Orthodox patriarch, he at the same time granted to Orthodox Christians the absolute freedom to retain their identity in the Greek tradition of the Orthodox Church in which Orthodoxy and “Hellenism” were an inseparable, universal whole, without any connotations of Greek national supremacy. The tradition was in many ways similar to that of the Muslim who prayed and studied his religion in Arabic and considered Arabic to be the universal language of Islam—not the language of some superior group—although some contemporary students of Arab nationalism would have us believe otherwise. The grounds for agreement between Gennadios and Sultan

Mehmet II were, therefore, in many ways much more basic and solid than those upon which union with Rome was to be constructed.

As for the sultan himself, he was a ruler of broad imperial vision. He believed that he was bound to act with equity toward and respect for all of his subjects, whatever their religion; this meant that he needed to practice wide tolerance, for he regarded himself not only as the sultan of the Muslims but also as the Caesar of the Romans and, ultimately, the ruler of the world. His conquest of Constantinople, he believed, entitled him to require the obedience of all, including Rome, as whoever was master of Constantinople was master of the world. (Some of these views derived from the writing of George Trapezountes). Mehmet's liberal views on religion, his knowledge of Greek and Latin, and his interest in knowing more about Christianity, as well as about the West, prompted an exchange of letters between him and the pope, who invited him to embrace Catholicism, while George Amiroutzes, the Byzantine philosopher, suggested that Orthodox Christianity and Islam could be blended into one religion, and presented to the sultan a study showing how much the two religions had in common.¹¹ Thus he seems to have elevated the Christian-Muslim dialogue to a very advanced stage. But the sultan was a Muslim, and a very pious one at that. His treatment of the Orthodox was for the most part in basic conformity with the tenets of Islam. The Qur'ān named the Christians and Jews as the People of the Book and conferred upon them the status of "*Dhimmi*," or "protected people." In according recognition and protection to the Orthodox Christians, Mehmet II was abiding by a divine commandment that had acquired the status of a basic and absolute constitutional principle. He was also following a venerable precedent set by Caliph Omar, who had allowed the Christians of Jerusalem and of other conquered cities to preserve their life, faith, and property, and pay only the *ciziye*, head tax.¹² (The same tax was paid by non-Muslims of the Ottoman Empire often under the name *harac*.)

The freedom and authority granted by Mehmet II to the Orthodox Church went far beyond that granted by his predecessors. Until the conquest of Constantinople and the concordat with Patriarch

¹¹Runciman, *Great Church*, p. 183.

¹²C. E. Bosworth "The Concept of 'Dhimmi' in Early Islam," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. B. Braude and B. Lewis (New York, 1982), 1, pp. 37-54.

Gennadios, the Ottoman sultans had treated the conquered Christians within the general framework of Islamic tenets, offering them protection and freedom of faith but no political role in the empire. Mehmet II, on the other hand, institutionalized the status of the Orthodox Christians and broadened their freedoms, granting them nearly complete autonomy in religious and cultural affairs by introducing a new principle of religious representation. The concordat and the later imperial orders that implemented it (the *Kanunnames*)¹³ decreed that all the Orthodox Christians were to be considered one *millet*—that is,¹⁴ one nation. The nationality of this *millet* stemmed directly from its faith, which became the primary source of identity of its members. All other identities or loyalties of the Greeks, Serbians, Bulgarians, Vlachs, etc. that derived from race, language, or ethnicity were officially superseded by the Christian Orthodox identity. The head of this *millet*, the patriarch (called the *millet başı* by the Turkish sources), was to promote Christian Orthodoxy—not Hellenism—among his flock, although he was a Greek and it was implicit in the agreement that the Greeks should represent all the national groups included in the Orthodox *millet*. The identity situation of the Orthodox Christian was best described by the first patriarch. When asked his nationality, George Scholarios Gennadios replied that he would not call himself a Hellene, though he was a Hellene by race, nor a Byzantine, though he had been born in Byzantium, but rather a Christian, that is, an Orthodox.¹⁵ If Sultan Mehmet II had been asked the same question, probably he would have answered that although he was an Osmanli through dynastic ties and a Turk because of his language and ancestry, he considered himself first of all a Muslim, and then a sultan and caesar and ruler of a multi-religious, multi-ethnic empire.

As the head and *de facto* ruler of the *millet* the Orthodox patriarch had a lofty position in the Ottoman government, whereas under the

¹³The *Kanunnames* were imperial orders that conformed to the Shariat and had the power of law. Those of Mehmet II have been the subject of various studies, notably by H. Inalcik and N. Beldiceanu, the latter being the most recent work; see also Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge, 1965).

¹⁴See the succinct survey by Richard Clogg, "The Greek Millet in the Ottoman Empire" *Christians and Jews*, 1, pp. 185-208.

¹⁵Runciman, *Great Church*, p. 379.

Byzantine empire he had been a subordinate of the basileus, or emperor, who was the head of the Church and the nation. In addition, the Constantinople patriarch had long been subordinate to the bishop of Herakleia (Thrace) but, although a liaison between the two was maintained for some time after the new system was put in place, the Istanbul patriarch was in fact no longer truly subordinate to any other Christian prelate. Under the Ottomans the patriarch in Istanbul acquired greater prestige and authority than he had had at any time during the Byzantine rule. It may be argued that the Byzantine Patriarchate maintained not only its historical and institutional continuity under the Ottoman rule (in fact, it was the only Byzantine institution to do so) but achieved a position of such enhanced authority and power that it became in effect one of the empire's ruling institutions. The patriarch was given an official high position in the state hierarchy and enjoyed special privileges normally granted only to sovereigns. As previously mentioned, he gained the right of direct access to Sultan Mehmet II and in his presence was entitled to wear the Palaiologan emblem of twin eagles, representing State and Church. Turkish historians state that after the patriarch received the title of *millet başı* (head of the nation) he transformed the Patriarchate offices (which had been moved to a palace in Balat, the Church of the Holy Apostles being in bad repair) into a sort of ruler's residence. Visitors, including Ottoman government envoys, were admitted only by permission, which had to be obtained through Mehmet II's aides. In fact, the patriarch's representatives and aides were treated as if they were ambassadors when they dealt with official Ottoman bodies.¹⁶ In the nineteenth century the patriarch dealt directly with the *Adalet Nezareti* (Ministry of Justice).

After 1454 the Orthodox Church took on a number of administrative and executive duties that during the Byzantine times had been performed by lay bodies, such as the adjudication of marriages, divorces, inheritances, adoptions, etc. (Economic and criminal cases, as well as cases involving both Muslims and Christians, were dealt with by the *Kadi* court. Church property enjoyed the same treatment as that accorded *vakif* properties: autonomy of administration, exemption from taxes, and immunity from confiscation. An Orthodox

¹⁶Mehmet Zeki Pakalin, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* (Lexicon of Ottoman Terms and Expressions), s.v. "Patrik" and "Patrikhane," p. 762.

Christian could freely turn over funds to a church or monastery that was, in turn, free to use the donation for any of a number of religious or educational purposes. For example, Helena, the daughter of Demetrios (the brother of the Emperor John VIII who went with him to the Council of Florence in 1439), who was taken into the sultan's harem after the conquest but remained a virgin, bequeathed all her properties to the Patriarchate.¹⁷ The Patriarchate of Istanbul, like those of Jerusalem and Antioch, held large tracts of land, including extensive estates in Wallachia and Moldavia, the income from which was spent for a variety of educational and administrative services.

A great number of Greek and Balkan nationalist historians, as well as Western scholars with Catholic or Protestant sympathies, have described the Orthodox Patriarchate as a docile tool of the Turkish ruler and a partner in the oppression of non-Greek subjects. These allegations are totally false. The Orthodox Patriarchate dealt strictly with the affairs of the *millet* and was not part of the Ottoman bureaucratic apparatus. Even the *ciziye*, the head tax paid by non-Muslims, was not collected by the Church but by the headman (*ciorbaci*, *kocabasi*, etc.) of the village community or town quarter (*mahalle*), although occasionally the Ottoman government would ask the Patriarchate—as a kind of favor—to use its moral influence to get the Christians to pay their taxes.

There is also the much discussed issue of the frequent change of patriarchs, allegedly brought about through the payment of "bribes" to the Porte. Again, this situation has been grossly exaggerated. First, and above all else, it must be stressed that the election and deposition of patriarchs was entrusted to the Synod, the Church administrative body consisting of twelve prelates (equal to the number of the Apostles). There is no question but that the Synod could be influenced to act one way or another, but the fact that the Synod followed well designed procedures which limited its scope for arbitrary decision should not be ignored. The exchange of gifts between two dignitaries or the donation of gifts to the sovereign were not "bribes" but rituals of authority. The *Piş-keş*, for example, was given to the sultan by the recipient of a position as a symbol of his loyalty and a mark of his respect for and dependence on the ruler.¹⁸

¹⁷Dukas, *Decline and Fall*, p. 181, no. 202.

¹⁸Halil Inalcik, "Ottoman Archival Materials on Millets," in *Christians and Jews*, Vol. 1, pp. 437-41.

Such gifts were known in Islam as *al-alamat-i mulukiyya* ("expressions of authority"). In fact, the so-called "bribes" did not go into the private treasury of the sultan or the vizier but were registered as state revenues. On the patriarch's side, an office known as *Kalem-i Mukataa-i Peskeopos*, headed by a *hoca* (Muslim clergyman) who was also the secretary of the grand vizier, was established specifically to monitor the revenues of all the patriarchates. After 1837 the appointments of prelates and other religious matters were registered in the *Defter-i Cemaat-i Gayri Muslimin* (Register of the Non-Muslim Communities), since in the nineteenth century the old arrangement underwent considerable change, as shall be discussed later.

The authority of the Orthodox Church was extended to cover practically all Orthodox Christians in the Balkans and the Middle East, as had been the case during the most glorious days of the Byzantine empire. Ruthenians, Vlachs, Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Albanians, etc., in the Balkans and the Bucak were brought under the political sway of the Porte, defusing thus the efforts of Rome to expand its authority into these areas. Only the Russian Church was not under the direct orders of the Istanbul Patriarchate, although it recognized the latter's spiritual leadership. It must be pointed out that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the influence of the Byzantine Church in the Balkans had greatly decreased. For instance, Stephen II Nemanja of Serbia (ascended the throne in 1196) and Czar Kalojan of Bulgaria (ascended in 1197) had sought ratification of their rule from Rome, not from Constantinople. However, from 1453 onwards the patriarch, thanks to the Turkish power, had once again established Orthodox rule over almost all of the Balkans, although the fringes, such as Croatia and Dalmatia which were outside the Ottoman rule, remained predominantly Catholic. Moreover, the Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria were now under the same Ottoman roof, thus consolidating the Church's power for the first time in centuries. Orthodox Christians living in the Ottoman realm were free to communicate with all other Orthodox communities in the world, including those in Poland, Lithuania, and Russia. (However, in the early seventeenth century the Orthodox Church lost most of its followers in Poland and Lithuania to Rome despite the efforts of the Patriarchate of Constantinople to retain their loyalty, because the political and military power of the Ottoman government were not there to provide support as they were in the Balkans.) Cyril (nee Constantine) Loukaris (1572-1638) worked in Lvov among the Orthodox

Christians, but he had to flee the country in order to escape being arrested as a "Turkish spy." His companion was caught and hanged.

There is no question that the political interests of the Church and of the Ottoman government coincided, as did, in many respects, their basic concepts of religion, God, and eternity. For example, paganism was anathema equally to Orthodoxy and Islam. Thus, when there was a resurgence of paganism in Mistra, Gennadios fought fiercely against it and with the assistance of the Ottoman authorities eliminated it. Islam and Orthodox Christianity had, after all, flourished and interacted in the same Mediterranean environment in which the form of society and basic outlook on the world and on human fate were held in common. (Martin Luther considered the Orthodox Church to be much closer in doctrine to early Christianity than the Catholic Church, and Amiroutzes actually wrote a treatise to prove this point.) The Roman Church had evolved under a set of different historical, social, and political conditions that set it apart from Islam and Eastern Christianity. In fact, even after 1453 the Orthodox Church in Istanbul had to continue to defend itself against the intrigues designed by the Western churches to undermine its power and authority. The case of Cyril I Loukaris provides an excellent example of the anti-Orthodox machinations of the Roman Church. We have already mentioned his narrow escape from arrest and execution while visiting Orthodox Christians in Poland. In 1596 the Western Church further demonstrated its hostility towards its Eastern brethren by refusing to allow Loukaris and the Ottoman Christian delegation to participate in the second unionist meeting at Brest-Litowsk. Eventually Loukaris became patriarch of Alexandria, and then of Constantinople. He was a progressive-minded scholar, born in Crete but educated in Venice. He was instrumental in the introduction into Istanbul in 1627 of the printing press, which printed theological works in Greek. The Jesuits suspected him of Calvinist sympathies, however. Thus, when the press published one of his pamphlets in which he stated that certain Islamic dogma could not be accepted by Christians, the Jesuits took the pamphlet to the grand vizier and accused him of anti-government activities. The vizier turned the pamphlet over to the *Şeyhülislâm* (the highest religious official, who was charged with providing religious opinions—*fetva*—on important matters), who declared that Christians were entitled to state their beliefs even if these were contrary to Islam. Thus Loukaris was exonerated. The Jesuits were banned from Ottoman domains (the government having realized full well what was really

behind their crocodile concern for its welfare); but the Capucines took their place and eventually succeeded in undermining Loukaris' position within his own *millet* by exploiting the alleged expression of Protestant sympathies in his book *Confession of Faith* (published in Latin at Geneva in 1629), although basically the book simply advocated change that would bring the Orthodox Church up to date.¹⁹ Loukaris occupied the patriarch's throne four times, and the constant efforts to oust him from that position turned into a struggle for power between Catholic and Protestant embassies in Istanbul. The rate of *piş-keş* consequently reached a new high. (It is interesting to note that during this period Russia was becoming the last bastion of the political-ideological type of Christian Orthodoxy—which it exploited in the effort to realize its expansionist aims.)

It is not the purpose of this paper to give a detailed history of the Orthodox Church during the Ottoman era. However, the fact is that this Church survived, and the Orthodox Byzantine culture developed steadily (making such an impact on the Orthodox Christians of the Balkans that the great Romanian historian Nicolas Iorga was inspired to write a book entitled *Byzance après Byzance*). The conclusion must be reached that the destiny of the Orthodox Christian Church was intimately bound up with that of the empire itself. The Church's power, authority, and influence reached their zenith during the heyday of Ottoman power and wealth and declined as the empire faded when the classical Ottoman institutions and authority were challenged by European powers from outside and by reformist intellectuals and ambitious bureaucrats from inside.

The rise of the Phanariotes in the eighteenth century came as there began a cycle of economic transformation that shook the political and social foundations of the order on which the Ottoman government and the Patriarchate were based. The new Phanariotes social groups rose to prominence and power as a consequence of the expanded Ottoman commercial and economic relations with Europe and of the intensified trade within its own domains. The classical Ottoman sociopolitical system was undergoing a structural transformation that brought a need for adjustment to new conditions. The young Phanariotes bureaucracy, which filled many of the positions in the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church and its educational system by late in the eighteenth century, took the West as a model and demanded

¹⁹See G. A. Hadjiantoniou, *Protestant Patriarch* (Richmond, 1961).

changes accordingly. They and many other Orthodox Christians educated in the West also discovered at that time the roots of their linguistic and national history and called for the overhaul of the existing traditional educational and religious systems. Some became revolutionaries who questioned the whole concept of the Church as the sole ruler of a society that was rapidly adopting nationalism and secularism as its ideology and creating a new political identity based not on a universal faith but on the particularism and localism of language. The Phanariotes sought to create a new Byzantium, working from the inside by infiltrating the Church administration and gaining influence in the Ottoman government. They also tried to Hellenize the Slavs and the Vlachs in the Balkans. In support of these activities they employed their considerable wealth, derived from trade and from the taxes collected in Wallachia and Moldavia, which they ruled from about 1711 or 1716 until 1821 as the appointees of the Porte. Some voices for change were even heard occasionally from among the prelates of the Church, such as those of the two monks who wrote the *New Geography*, bitterly attacking the Church administration therein. (Curiously enough, at about that same time in the eighteenth century a Muslim scholar, Katip Çelebi, wrote the *Cihanunnuma*, a world geography considered to be the herald of enlightenment among Muslims.)

The sultan also faced demands for change that came not only from the new intelligentsia but also from the more progressive elements of the religious establishment and the bureaucracy, notably the bureaucrats in the foreign affairs section, who were in touch with the West and could read works written in French and other languages. The patriarch and the sultan were made subject to the criticism of the modernists within their own establishments on essentially the same ground: they were regarded as the symbols of the now-scorned tradition and continuity in the old fashion. The patriarch also suffered the deterioration of his position of prestige and power within the Ottoman State as the Phanariotes became increasingly nationalistic and vigorous in staking their claims to leadership in the Church. It was under these circumstances that the *Paternal Exhortation*, attributed to Anthimos II, the patriarch of Jerusalem, was published in 1798, the very year in which the most formidable stronghold of the Roman Church—France—invaded Egypt and opened the door to the secularist thinking and political imperialism of Europe as well as to the Catholic penetration of the Middle East and the Ottoman Empire

as a whole. This book, denounced by Adamantios Koraes, the father of modern Greek nationalism, as unworthy of having been written by a Greek, condemned the French revolution and described the sultan as a gift of God, sent to protect the Orthodox Christians and their Church.²⁰

The Orthodox Church, the Muslim religious establishment, and the conservatives within the Ottoman government all were attacked as being against innovation and change, and hence, unheeding of the welfare of their own people. Yet, I dare say the similar positions adopted by the Orthodox Church and the Muslim establishment against the urged "reforms" did not stem from their opposition to change *per se* but, rather from their deeply rooted fear that such changes would undermine the gnostic nature of their societies and destroy their basic identities and historical heritage. Such fears were not without bases, as subsequent events proved.

Drastic structural change, which transformed the traditional Ottoman system into a kind of class society, was forced by the slow but steady penetration of European capitalism that began in the eighteenth century. With the rise of Russia as a major power and its expansion into Ottoman territories, starting with the Peace of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774, the Ottoman economic and political recovery that had begun before the middle of the century was stalled. Hard pressed by the advancing Russian armies, and frequently threatened with total annihilation throughout the period 1792-1829, the Ottoman government sought support from the West in exchange for extensive economic and political concessions that increased the scope and speeded up the rate of Western penetration. The resulting spread of Western culture deeply influenced, first, the Christians and then the Muslim intelligentsia. The non-Muslims became the first agents of Western capitalism and as such received extensive economic rewards and political support, for which they sacrificed their historical, traditional, Christian religious identity, exchanging it for a secular political identity bearing the standard of national revival and, ultimately, of ethnic nationalism and even racism. Through them the European concepts of the territorial state and the nation-state found their way into the Ottoman realm. The ideological manifestation of the new concept

²⁰For details and bibliography, see Kemal H. Karpat, *The Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes, from Milletts to Nations* (Princeton, 1973).

of political organization was nationalism based on language, ethnicity, race, history, and local or regional attachments. Religion lost its gnostic character and became a secularized ingredient of nationality and nationalism, a mere cultural dimension of national identity rather than a universal fraternity.

In a different paper I argued at length that the principles of territoriality and the European concept of national statehood based on race, language, and history devoid of gnosticism were incompatible with the universality of Islam, as were they with the universality of Christian Orthodoxy. However, once the Church accepted the supremacy of secular nationality, faith and national identity would be reconciled, although the religion would lose its original essence.²¹ In a second paper, I stressed the fact that although secular nationalism appeared to favor the Christian states in the Balkans in the initial phase of their search of independence, in the long run the nationalist rivalries that undermined the Ottoman state would destroy the unity of Orthodox Christians and create endless struggle among them.²² Indeed, the strife-ridden history of the Balkan states after the Berlin Congress of 1878 stands in sharp contrast to the *Pax Ottomanica* which prevailed from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, when the non-national Orthodox Church reigned supreme among the Ottoman Orthodox Christians.

The Greek revolution of 1821 had a devastating effect on relations between the Orthodox Church and the Ottoman government. The Church had very little to do with the revolution, as the notions of ethnic nationalism and secularism that inspired that revolution were still unaccepted by the Patriarchate. In fact, the Patriarchate of Constantinople recognized the government of independent Greece, where a national church was established, only in 1849 because of pressure of the Ottoman government. Sultan Mahmut II (1808-1839), whose so-called "modern reforms" undermined the socio-cultural foundations of the Ottoman state and quickened its disintegration, did not understand either the dynamics of the Greek revolution or the basic

²¹Kemal H. Karpat, "Milletts and Nationality. The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post Ottoman Era," *Christians and Jews*, pp. 141-70.

²²Kemal H. Karpat, "The Social and Political Foundations of Nationalism in South East Europe after 1878: A Reinterpretation," *Die Berlinger Congress Von 1878* (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 385-410.

anti-secularist, anti-nationalist position of the Patriarchate. He held the Patriarch responsible for the rebellion of Greeks and hanged him. The sultan also hanged the Şeyhulislam who denounced the punishment of the patriarch as being contrary to Islam. By holding the innocent Patriarch Gregory V responsible for the Greek revolt, the Sultan identified the Church with Hellenism and with the Greeks, thus unwittingly bolstering the claims of the other Orthodox Christian groups that the Patriarchate was Greek and prompting the intensification of their demands for their own national churches. Obviously Sultan Mahmut II had departed from the basic Ottoman traditions of government, and the following governments continued on the same track, further weakening tradition. The Greek revolution of 1821 without question undermined the primacy of the Greeks at the Porte and faced the Patriarchate with the dilemma of how to deal with the government of Greece while remaining at the head of the Orthodox Church, now increasingly referred to as the Greek Church. In fact, after the establishment of the Serbian and then the Bulgarian national church in 1870, the Patriarchate's authority extended only to Ottoman Greeks and a few other communities overseas. After the heat of Ottoman anger over the Greek revolution of 1821 had cooled, the Orthodox Church and the Ottoman government achieved a rapid rapprochement, because each needed the other. However, it was too late to effect a solid, permanent repair of the relationship. The open acceptance of the European concept of reform had undermined the historical foundations of both bodies, especially the Ottoman state, which, after several attempts to establish a concept of universal Ottomanism in the realm, succumbed to the lure of nationalism.

The Orthodox Church lost even more of its influence among Orthodox Christians vis-à-vis the Ottoman government after the so-called reforms introduced through passage of the *Reform Edict of 1856 (Islahat Fermani)*.²³ This edict, prepared by the English, French, and Austrian governments, was imposed upon the Ottoman government. Almost the entire edict dealt with the situation of the Christians within the Ottoman Empire. At the first sight, the edict indeed appears to guarantee the Christians "equality" and equitable treatment. However, when studied more closely the edict is seen as aiming at creating the conditions for the rise of a Christian merchant class and giving

²³Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton, 1963).

to that class control of the respective Christian communities. The edict sought the reorganization of the traditional *millet*s, which had been the backbone of the Ottoman sociopolitical system since the classical constitutional order was established by Mehmet II in the fifteenth century, so as to give power to the lay leaders of the communities—the merchants, craftsmen, and intellectuals. In pushing these reforms through their respective governments—i.e., England, France, and Austria—the Protestants and especially the Catholics effected the liberation of the Orthodox Christians not only from Ottoman rule but also from the jurisdiction of their own Church. Indeed, conversions to Protestantism and Catholicism accelerated greatly after 1856.

The Orthodox Church was, in fact, the primary target of the European-inspired *millet* reform, for the reforms not only envisaged the transfer of power from the Church officials to laymen but also sought to encourage the establishment of new *millet*s for each national religion. While until about the middle of the nineteenth century the term *millet* meant a large, basic religious community, after the edicts of 1839 and, especially of 1856, the term referred to a small ethno-religious and national congregation. By the end of the century the number of *millet*s had been increased from the original three to first nine and then eleven, usually by the separation of one group from the mother *millet*. I should point out that the Ottoman government did not want to become involved in the reform of the non-Muslim *millet*s and did so only after the governments of France and England had applied great pressure.²⁴ Finally, in the period 1862-1867, the government compelled the Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish *millet*s to undertake the reforms desired by the Europeans and their own middle classes. This reform, which enabled laymen to elect and be members of the Synod and ultimately to elect the patriarch, was outwardly democratic, but it led not only to the secularization of the Church but also to its subordination to various private interests. It also destroyed the special position of the Patriarchate and subordinated it to the direct authority of the Ottoman government as a rank-and-file institution. These were inevitable outcomes.

Once the non-Muslims were free to organize themselves as they wished, the Muslims had the right to govern the society under their political control not according to the universal Muslim law but

²⁴Ibid.

according to the principles borrowed from the West of national and territorial states. Indeed, in response the Ottoman state, or what was left of it, was turned first into a Muslim state and then, in 1923, into a Turkish national state. The reforms inspired by Europe led to a much more centralized government and to the subsequent loss of the autonomy which had been the hallmark of various Muslim and Christian institutions under the old system. For example, the state gradually assumed the power to administer the property of the *vakıfs* in a flagrant violation of one of the most basic of Muslim laws.

At this point, instead of pursuing my own analysis of the transformation of the Orthodox Church, I shall let the Orthodox patriarch himself express his views about the reforms and the position of the Orthodox Church towards ethnicity, nationalism, and national languages, employing passages from several memoranda addressed by the patriarch to the European ambassadors. These memoranda are found in the Archives of the French Foreign Ministry.

In the first memorandum the Patriarch protested against the implementation of the edict of 1856, specifically against the decision of the Ottoman government in 1867 to dissolve the Synod so that a new Synod could be elected by the Orthodox community as required by the edict of 1856.²⁵ It is ironic that the patriarch addressed his complaint to the Catholic ambassador of France, who had been instrumental in writing the edict of 1856 and was forcing the Ottoman government to implement it:

The Synod was constituted in a permanent manner by the Patriarchal throne since 1764 [said the Patriarch's memo], and the members of the Synod could not go back to their sees without the authorization of the Patriarch, without the Church being previously informed, and without the Sultan's decree. Now, this Synod has been dismissed, in fact dissolved, by a letter of Fuat Paşa [Foreign and Prime Minister] in such a violent fashion, without the Patriarch having provoked this action, without warning the Church, and, what is worse, without a new law which sanctioned the creation of a new Synod.

Continuing, the patriarch complained that many people who were

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵French Foreign Ministry Archives (FFMA) Section *Memoirs et Documents*, Vol. 117, Documents 7-10, pp. 14-103 *passim*.

engaged in personal rivalries and did not “examine the nature of things” might rejoice at the fate of the Synod but that “the entire Orthodox community has realized the gravity of this action directed against the inviolability of the Church . . . the privileges of the Church have been violated not only because of the dissolution of the Synod but especially because this dissolution took place without the proposition of the Patriarchate.” The patriarch further complained that some people were rejoicing because they regarded the Elders as an obstacle to their national ambitions and interests; but

the divine master of the religion does not make any difference between nationalities, between races and languages. The Church is a moral entity living in the heart of society. It exerts a very specific kind of influence and activity, and therefore in its outward representation and in its administrative existence the Church cannot have but one homeland and one nationality . . . Greek. But having said this one should not think that these ideas are the basis of a policy of exclusivity within the Greek Church of the East, a policy imposed on the other races sharing the same religion and by forcing the conscience of other co-religionist peoples who have an [ethnic] origin other than Greek. This is not so. The Greek Church has always respected the language and the [ethnic] origin of the nations under its sway. Beginning in the ninth century and until our days the Church has said to the Bulgarians, Serbians, Vlachs, and in general to all the Slavic races under its jurisdiction “you have your own language, your own priests, and your own churches.” This right has been respected by the Church even among the peoples of Asia, who were allowed to worship the God of the Christians in their maternal tongues. The Greek Church has reserved for itself only one right, namely a supervision from high above exercised by the trusted Bishops in whose selection Greekness could not be and is not a matter of importance.

Finally, referring to the entire question of reforms, the Patriarch queried the European powers as follows:

Nobody is opposed to wise and prudent reforms . . . But do you want to see at Constantinople a weakened Church, and a Synod which meets [only periodically]? Do you want to give to the might,

the right to convene as it wishes, to an assembly [Synod] which could change at once the order of things? Do they wish to abolish the national character of the Patriarch, do you want to deprive him of all privilege and lower him from the rank of a chief of nation to be just the Bishop of Constantinople? Europe must become aware of the importance of these events and come to [our] help by protecting the present state of things in order to conserve intact in the Christian East the most sacred [heritage] left to us by past centuries.

The establishment of a Bulgarian Exarchate, that is, of a national Bulgarian Church, in open defiance of the universality of the Orthodox Church brought out the patriarch's views on nationality. The Patriarch Anthimos VI excommunicated the exarch, the Metropolitan Anthimos of Vidin, and refused to receive him. The patriarch of Istanbul found the root cause of the Bulgarian rebellion—as he called the establishment of a national Exarchate—in the principle of nationality. He described the idea of secular nationality as being

anti-canonic and anti-religious and subversive to the principle of Christian charity, since the idea (of nationality) led to the creation of 'national churches,' that is, to a system contradictory to the teaching of Jesus Christ who wanted to destroy all distinctions of race and tribe and wanted to give to all people one single mother Church and one single land, the celestial Jerusalem.²⁶

To another letter about the Bulgarian Exarchate, the patriarch found the principle of

nationality (based) on race as stemming from an anti-evangelical and deadly principle. There is not a single faithful Christian who does not understand without doubt that this execrable principle stands in manifest contradiction to the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this principle destroys the basic foundations on which the sacred Bible stands and thus it attacks the very foundations of the Christian religion. The doctrine of our Lord has abolished all distinctions of race and nationality and has gathered all the nations together by giving them . . . a common mother in the sacred Church.²⁷

²⁶FFMA, *Correspondence Politique* 392 (May-August 1872), p. 27.

²⁷Ibid., annex to dispatch of 2 July 1872, p. 185.

Meanwhile the Bulgarian Exarch was delivering before the sultan the following speech:

Today, thanks to the high justice and equity of Your Majesty who in his paternal solicitude decided to re-establish this ecclesiastic administration by an imperial *firman*, the Bulgarian nation is full of hope living as such under the benign shadow of your majesty . . . It is impossible for me to express all the gratitude of the nation for such a great work, but I affirm that the Bulgarian people will always remain faithful to your glorious majesty as it has been until this day.²⁸

Yet, only six years after this declaration, in 1878, the Bulgarians led by the Russian army, killed hundreds of thousands of Muslims and expelled a million Muslims, Greeks, and Jews in order to establish their independent and national state of Bulgaria. For all practical purposes religion had been replaced by a racist, bigoted nationalism.

Finally nationalism destroyed the old spiritual world order created by the Ottoman sultan Mehmet II and Patriarch Gennadios in the fifteenth century. As the Ottoman Empire gradually shrank and came to its end (1918-23), the Patriarchate of Constantinople also became only a shadow of what it was before. The mutual respect and tolerance between the Muslim and the Christian turned into a savage, bloody struggle for national domination. Today we are still in that bloody phase of nationalism. Let us hope that together we Muslims and Christians can overcome the destructive, barbaric nationalistic impulse that has destroyed the essence of our religion, and return to a spiritual understanding of man and society so that we can live in peace as our ancestors did a century and a half ago.

²⁸Ibid. p. 38.

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Philoponos and Avicenna
on the Separability of the Intellect:
A Case of Orthodox Christian-Muslim Agreement

DIMITRI GUTAS

ARISTOTELIANISM, the longest lived and historically the most influential philosophical tradition in the West and the Near East, provided the common ground where philosophers of all religions—pagans, Christians, Muslims, and Jews, and schismatics of all sorts—could conduct a meaningful dialogue across the centuries. In this paper I wish to study an instance in which the affiliation of Ioannes Philoponos (d. after 560), an Orthodox Christian,¹ and of Avicenna (d. 1037), a Sunnī Muslim,² with this tradition led to their agreement in the solution of a particularly difficult philosophical problem with serious implications for their respective monotheistic religions.

The problem concerns the interpretation of Aristotle's opening words in his examination of the intellect, *De Anima* 429a10-12:

Concerning the part of the soul with which the soul knows and thinks, whether this part is separable or inseparable with respect to magnitude but in theory only . . . (Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μορίου τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ὃ γινώσκει τε ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ φρονεῖ εἴτε χωριστοῦ

¹See H.-D. Saffrey, "Le chrétien Jean Philopon et la survivance de l'école d'Alexandrie au VI^e siècle," *Revue des Études Grecques* 67 (1954) 396-410. Philoponos was considered orthodox in his time; he was condemned as a tritheist only in retrospect (680). See *ibid.* p. 408, n. 2.

²For the purposes of this paper the question of Avicenna's sectarian affiliation is irrelevant. Suffice it to say that I believe that there is enough evidence to indicate that he was a Sunnī Muslim of the Ḥanafī rite.

δντος εἴτε καὶ μὴ χωριστοῦ κατὰ μέγεθος ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόγον . . .).

In his *Marginal Notes on De Anima*, a relatively late work, Avicenna interprets the above passage as follows:³

Aristotle begins [here] the investigation of the theoretical faculty about which he asks whether its essence subsists separately.⁴ By his statement, “or inseparable with respect to magnitude,” Aristotle means, “inseparable from magnitude.” Themistios understood Aristotle to mean “or it is inseparable with respect to location,”⁵ but this is incorrect because Aristotle’s discussion in this passage about whether it is separable or not does not concern location, nor is he occupied with it at the moment; rather, the extent of his discussion and investigation is devoted to [the subject of] subsistence. In another translation [of the same passage into Arabic we read]: “or inseparable, like the separation of a body from another body,”⁶ that is, without needing it to subsist.⁷ It appears as if this translation is more correct.

³Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, *Aristū ‘inda’ l-‘Arab*, Cairo 1947, p. 98.17-22. For the title and origin of the work, see my *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition* (forthcoming), Chapter 2, Work 9.

⁴Literally, “whether it is separable with respect to the subsistence of its essence” (*hal hiya mufāriqa fī qiwām dātihi* [sic]). This literal rendering highlights the parallelism between Avicenna’s paraphrase and Aristotle’s words, “inseparable with respect to magnitude” whereby it is seen that the Aristotelian “magnitude” is interpreted by Avicenna as “essence.” See the discussion further below.

⁵Themistios, *In Libros Aristotelis De Anima Paraphrasis* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 5, 3], ed. R. Heinze (Berlin, 1899), p. 93.33; *An Arabic Translation of Themistius, Commentary on Aristoteles De Anima*, ed. M. C. Lyons (Oxford 1973), p. 163 has a different text.

⁶This is the poor Arabic translation, wrongly attributed in the manuscript to Ishāq b. Hunayn, and published by ‘Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, *Aristū fī ‘l-nafs* (Cairo, 1954). See R. M. Frank, “Some Fragments of Ishāq’s Translation of the *De Anima*,” *Cahiers de Byrsa* 8 (1958-59) 232, n. 7, last line.

⁷The unique manuscript of the text, Cairo Dār al-Kutub Hikma 6M, has *qiwām* on the line. It was crossed over and *qiyām* was written over it by the same hand. Although the original reading appears to be the correct one, both would give approximately the same sense.

In the *De Anima* translation by Ishāq b. Ḥunayn that Avicenna was using, the Greek text εἶτε καὶ μὴ χωριστοῦ κατὰ μέγεθος (“or inseparable with respect to magnitude”) was rendered by *aw ghayr mufāriq bi’l-‘izām*.⁸ As far as the Arabic construction of the phrase itself is concerned, the preposition *bi-* is ambiguous in that it could mean a number of things, none of them completely satisfactory for the sense. Avicenna interpreted it as the particle introducing the object, *li-* (i.e., *ghayr mufāriq li’l-‘izām*) thus understanding ‘*izām*’ (“magnitude”) as the object of the participle *mufāriq* (“separable”), and elicited the sense, “inseparable from magnitude.” This interpretation is unwarranted on the basis of the Arabic phrase alone, for despite its ambiguity, the preposition *bi-* in the present context cannot yield this sense. It is therefore obvious that Avicenna is following here traditional ways of interpretation, a brief review of which will reveal his precedents.

To start with some general observations: the discussion is about whether the rational (part of the) soul—or the intellect—is separable or not. The question, however, is, separable from what? The answers that were given by the Greek commentators whose works are extant can be classified into three categories:

- (1) separable from the body;
- (2) separable from the other faculties of the soul (i.e., the nutritive, etc.) (a) in essence (τῇ οὐσίᾳ) or (b) in theory (κατὰ λόγον, τῷ λόγῳ);
- 3) separable from the other parts of the intellect (a) in essence, or (b) in theory.

Alexander’s theory of the soul is quite consistent as a whole with that of Aristotle; he considers the soul to be the form of the body. At the end of the discussion about the presence of the soul in the body as its form he states,

If then the soul is, as it has been shown, a form, then it is necessary that it be inseparable (ἀχώριστον) from the body whose [form] it is, and also that it be incorporeal and immovable in

⁸See Frank, “Some Fragments,” p. 224, frg. 35. The first line of this fragment, as printed, should be deleted. It is not Ishāq’s text but Avicenna’s paraphrase; see n. 4 above.

itself;⁹

and concludes,

Since the soul is the form of a body, as already stated, such a form, by being inseparable from the body, would also perish together with it; that much of it, at any rate, which is the form of a perishable body.¹⁰

The last qualification was made with the “intellect from outside” (νοῦς θύραθεν) in mind, which, not being the form of a perishable body, is not perishable itself. This is stated more explicitly in another passage where Alexander says about the active intellect (νοῦς ποιητικός) that it exists without matter:

It is for this reason [*scil.* that it has no matter] that it is also separable in itself; for none of the forms in matter (ἐνυλὰ εἶδη) is separable, except in theory only, as they perish when they become separated from matter.¹¹

The same theory is also expressed in Alexander’s *De Intellectu*. The active intellect, coming to humans from the outside, is not a part or faculty of the soul.¹² As for the other two parts of the intellect, they are described as mere potentiality (passive intellect) and as potentiality with a certain disposition towards something (intellect *in habitu*).¹³

Alexander did not discuss their ontological status, but as parts of a soul which is the form of a body, it is fair to assume from what has already been said that they are not separable. According to Alexander, then, the soul and all its parts are not separable from the body—since they are its form—except for the active intellect which, coming from outside, is pure actuality, without a body, and not part of a soul. His discussion of the separability of the soul thus belongs to

⁹ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Scripta Minora. De Anima cum Mantissa* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, Suppl. 2, 1], ed. I. Bruns (Berlin, 1887), p. 17.9-10.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 21.22-24.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 89.12-15.

¹² Ibid. p. 108.22-23.

¹³ Ibid. pp. 106.19-107.28.

a soul. His discussion of the separability of the soul thus belongs to category (1) in the table above.

It was this kind of separability (from the body) that all the Neoplatonist commentators on Aristotle were against, starting with Plutarch of Athens. In the commentary of Stephanos of Alexandria (Pseudo-Philoponos) we read the following passage:

Some have interpreted this passage [*scil. De Anima* 429a10-12] as follows: either the intellect is separable from the body, or it is not separable from the body, being separable only in thought (τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ) but not also in actuality. This then is the first problem, whether the intellect is separable and eternal. Plutarch, however, does not like this interpretation at all and condemns it altogether. He himself interprets it by saying that what Aristotle meant by these words is the following: “either the intellect is separable from imagination and sense perception, having, apart from these, another essence (οὐσία), or all three have one essence which is many in theory only.”¹⁴

With regard to the issue of separability, Plutarch was opposed to category (1) (the position of Alexander, to whom the pronoun “some,” τινές, in the opening sentence above would appear to refer), and preferred to discuss the matter in terms of category (2). Instead of investigating, with Aristotle, whether the intellect is separable with respect to magnitude or in theory, he asks whether it is separable in essence or in theory from the other parts of the soul. In other words, in this interpretation there is a substitution of essence (οὐσία) for magnitude (μέγεθος).

In Stephanos, continuing from the preceding extract, this substitution is explicitly stated:

Aristotle is not seeking to find whether the intellect is separable from the body or not. For how could somebody, who believes that [even] imagination is separable from the body, entertain doubts about whether the intellect, which transcends all faculties, is incorporeal or not? But you should take “magnitude” to mean “essence” (μέγεθος δὲ λαβὲ τὴν οὐσίαν). So the first problem,

¹⁴Ioannes Philoponos, *In Aristotelis De Anima Libros Commentaria* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, 15], ed. M. Hayduck (Berlin, 1897), pp. 520.31-521.3. For the authorship of the third book of this commentary see the references by H. J. Blumenthal, “Neoplatonic Elements in the *De Anima* Commentaries,” *Phronesis* 21 (1976) 72, n. 37.

problem, too, is the following: either the intellect is separable from imagination and sense perception in essence, or all three have one essence but are different in theory only.¹⁵

With Simplicios a further elaboration of the separability theme was effected. For him, as for his predecessors, the kind of separability in category (1) was out of the question. What is novel in him, however, is that he was not content with the second category either. He proposed, instead, yet a third alternative which he considered to be more accurate: separability of one part of the intellect from the other parts in essence or in theory (category [3]). This is what he says:

“Whether it is separable or not” [in the Aristotelian text] should not be understood with reference to the body [category (1)] . . . but to the parts of the soul already mentioned, viz., the nutritive and the imaginative [category (2)]. *Or rather*, since, as it has been said, Aristotle is going to present three aspects (τριχῶς . . . παραδώσει) of that thing which knows rationally, he proposes to investigate whether that thing which thinks in itself is separable *from itself* in magnitude or in theory [category (3)]. The investigation, then, would be whether there are in us three intellects as essences that can be also separated from each other, or only one intellect and one essence which, however, is differentiated in theory, sometimes turned wholly towards itself, sometimes inclining outwards, and being either perfect or imperfect [emphasis added].¹⁶

In the discussion of the separability of the intellect there is thus discernible in the later stages of Greek Aristotelianism a development towards greater emphasis on the subdivisions within the intellect itself rather than on the distinction among the various parts of the soul. This development points the way to the Arab philosophers and their adoption as a rule of a quadripartite intellect: the potential, the actual, the acquired, and the one *in habitu*.¹⁷

¹⁵Philoponos, *In De Anima* p. 521.5-10 Hayduck.

¹⁶Simplikios, *In Libros Aristotelis De Anima* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, 11], ed. M. Hayduck (Berlin, 1882), p. 222.9-20.

¹⁷See, in general, J. Finnegan, “Al-Fārābī et le Περὶ νοῦ d’Alexandre d’Aphrodise,” *Mélanges Louis Massignon* (Damascus, 1957), 2, pp. 133-52.

In Philoponos' commentary,¹⁸ however, there is a shift in interpretation which is in many ways similar to that of Avicenna. Philoponos says that the Aristotelian passage can be explained in many ways but he actually gives two. The first one he offers is the one of separability in terms of location. He proceeds to give the *Timaeus* as an example, where the various faculties of the soul are given a different bodily seat. This is unique in the commentatorial tradition, and it harks back to Themistios who is the sole commentator to give this analysis only by offering the example of Plato.¹⁹ This explanation is quickly dismissed by Philoponos who now focuses on the second one:

It could be that "with respect to magnitude" [in the Aristotelian text] . . . means separate from body and magnitude, or "with respect to magnitude" means "with respect to essence and hypostasis," as magnitudes are said to be separated from each other, which is the same as that which follows, namely, that which has a substance separate from body and magnitude. . . . This, then, is the first of the problems, whether the intellect is separate in essence or in theory only.²⁰

There are two things to be noted about this passage. First, the discussion is raised to a different, unprecedented level. In Alexander, separability was discussed in terms of category (1), i.e., separation from the body, and the conclusion was that, apart from the active intellect, which is from outside and pure actuality, all the other parts of the soul are inseparable from the body *qua* its form. The later commentators objected to this interpretation in terms of category (1) and centered on categories (2) and (3). Philoponos, however, went back to a discussion of separability from the body²¹ (i.e., category [1]), but

¹⁸The third book of Philoponos' commentary, preserved only in a Latin translation, was edited anew by G. Verbeke, *Jean Philopon. Commentaire sur le De Anima d'Aristotle* (Leiden, 1966). Some fragments of the original Greek were recovered by S. van Riet, "Fragments de l'original grec du 'De Intellectu de Philopon dans une compilation de Sophonias,'" *Revue Philosophique de Louvain* 63 (1965) 5-40. The Greek original of the passages discussed in this paper is not among these fragments.

¹⁹See n. 5, above.

²⁰Verbeke, *Philopon*, pp. 6.32-7.42.

²¹This is also his stated purpose, as expressed in the preface to his commentary. See Blumenthal, "Neoplatonic Elements," p. 70, top.

with two modifications: first, he did not consider whether a part of the intellect only is separable from the body or not, as Alexander had done, but he considered the entire intellect or rational soul; and second, he did not consider this separability in terms of actuality or potentiality, again as Alexander had done, but in terms of substance (*substantia*) and essence (*essentia*) and *hypostasis*. In other words, he transferred the terms in which separability was discussed in categories (2) and (3), i.e., separability in essence or in theory, to category (1). He thereby created a dualism of body/intellect in lieu of the previous triadic divisions of nutrition/sense perception/reasoning, and passive intellect/intellect *in habitu*/active intellect, respectively. This new development in the interpretation of the Aristotelian passage and Philoponos' emphasis can best be understood, I think, against the background of Philoponos' Christianity. It is of vital importance for a religious teaching about a future life that it maintain on a philosophical level the separate existence of the self, the intellect. It is noteworthy, however, that Philoponos was able to effect this shift without any drastic break with the tradition in which he was schooled, but through a mere transposition of the arguments and terms already available.

Second, Avicenna's interpretation relies heavily on that of Philoponos, and his formulation of the issue in Arabic can be understood adequately only by reference to it. Avicenna interpreted "inseparable with respect to magnitude" (*ghayr mufāriq bi'l-ʿiẓam*) as "from magnitude" (*li'l-ʿiẓam*), just as Philoponos had interpreted the same phrase (*separata secundum magnitudinem*) as "separate from body and magnitude" (*separata a corpore et magnitudine*). Avicenna maintained that separability should not be seen in terms of location but in terms of "subsistence/essence" (*qiwām*), just as Philoponos had interpreted "with respect to magnitude" (*secundum magnitudinem*) as "with respect to essence and hypostasis" (*secundum essentiam et hypostasim*). Finally, Avicenna's preferred translation, "... or inseparable, like the separation of a body from another body ..." (*aw ghayr mufāriqa ka mufāraqat al-jism li'l-jism*) made the same point that Philoponos had made with his illustration "... as magnitudes are said to be separated from each other ..." (*ut magnitudines dicuntur ab invicem separari*). The problem, then, is the same for Avicenna as it is for Philoponos, namely, whether the intellect, separated from the body, is subsistent or separate in essence. And the motivation behind the similar formulation also appears to be the same, namely,

Avicenna's monotheistic (Islamic) frame of reference.

The agreement between Philoponos and Avicenna in both their understanding and solution of the problem does not seem to be accidental. As a matter of fact, there is considerable evidence that Philoponos' commentary on *De Anima*, the Arab bibliographers' total silence on the matter notwithstanding, must have been known in Arabic translation,²² and that Avicenna must have used it. This, however, is a subject for future research.

²²A good case was recently made about the influence which Philoponos' commentary seems to have exerted on al-Kindi's treatise on the intellect; see J. Jolivet, *L'intellect selon Kindi* (Leiden, 1971), pp. 50-73. As for Avicenna, already in 1959 R. M. Frank had listed a number of passages from his marginal notes on *De Anima* in which Philoponos' commentary appears to have been used ("Some Fragments," p. 236, note, top). The following instance from the same work (Badawī, *Aristū*, p. 101.17-19) may be added to those enumerated by Frank, especially since it is indicative of specific borrowing: it transmits a unique mistake.

Avicenna says in this note that Alexander imputed to Aristotle the doctrine that the material intellect itself was hylic and material. From what we know of Alexander, he could not have made such a statement (J. Finnegan's references in this regard to Alexander's *De Anima*, p. 90.13ff. Bruns, are not to the point; see his "Avicenna's Refutation of Porphyrius," *Avicenna Commemoration Volume*, Calcutta [Iran Society], 1956, p. 192, n. 1, he held that the material intellect is not itself matter but that it is called material because it is, like matter, sheer potentiality (cf. his *De Anima*, p. 106.19-23 Bruns). In all likelihood, Avicenna received his misconception about Alexander in one of two ways: either directly from Stephanos (Pseudo-Philoponos, *In De Anima*, p. 519.23-28 Hayduck), who is the only extant Greek commentator to have attributed to Alexander the opinion that the material intellect is matter, or through a misunderstanding, misreading, or mistranslation of a Philoponos passage in which Alexander *reported* that *Xenarchos*, the first century B.C. Peripatetic, had misunderstood Aristotle and thought that the intellect was primary matter (Verbeke, *Philopon*, p. 15). It is also likely, as a combination of the two alternatives, that Stephanos himself may have been misled by the same passage in Philoponos.

It would seem from the above indications that the problem with regard to Philoponos' commentary on *De Anima* is not whether it was available in Arabic translation, but rather in what form or recension it was available. The Arabic tradition appears to carry traces of both the recension extant in the Latin translation and also the one circulating under the name of Stephanos. Whether these two recensions were available in Arabic separately or together, the names under which they circulated, and the reasons for the silence of the Arab bibliographers regarding them, are questions that have yet to be investigated.

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Pneumatological Issues in American Presbyterianism

RICHARD LOVELACE

INTRODUCTION

THE FOCUS OF THIS CONSULTATION makes it doubly serviceable to the ecumenical cause. It is centered on a major block of issues which divide the Eastern Church from the West. And since those issues have to do with the Holy Spirit and his renewing work in the body of Christ, we are also dealing with a dimension which is crucial for church unity.

Both the World Council of Churches, in its inception, and the Second Vatican Council built their hopes for a unified church on the hope for renewal, for spiritual revitalization of the existing structures. Since the time of Count Zinzendorf, one of the main architects of modern ecumenism, it has been taken for granted that the renewing work of the Spirit, Christian unity and effective mission are vitally interrelated and mutually reinforcing factors.¹

The W.C.C. Memorandum, "The Filioque Clause in Ecumenical Perspective," in calling for the restoration of the original form of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed as normative in all communions, has taken an obvious practical step in promoting greater unity between Orthodox Christians and others. But it is especially significant and gratifying that the Memorandum's first recommendation deals with the need for a greater development of a trinitarian lifestyle in all the churches, and particularly "a new sensitivity to the person and work of the Holy Spirit."

¹ See A. J. Lewis, *Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer* (London, 1962).

The root concern of Orthodox theologians, today and in the past, has not been confined to securing the correct technical expression for the procession of the Spirit. It has always moved beyond this to seek the Church's experience of *theosis*, the Orthodox tradition's analogue for Western formulations of spiritual renewal, brought about through the *energeia* of the Holy Spirit. We can hope that Eastern and Western Christians alike will not move too easily toward a merely formal unity by resolving the *filioque* issue, without giving continued attention to the enlarging of the Church's theology of the Holy Spirit, and also its experience of his work, which is to actualize the power of Christ's resurrection among the whole people of God.

The Eastern Church, by the accidents of history, has had its theological attention arrested and fixed on pneumatology. Whether or not they have been in grave technical error in their doctrine of the Spirit, Western Christians have too easily been able to evade studying his person and work. This may be because the related section of the Creed, rising out of historical controversies focussed on the second person of the Trinity, is relatively terse in its handling of the Spirit. The position he has been given in our theologies is greatly inferior to the treatment of his ministry in the New Testament.

In our actual historical experience, every part of the Church has developed practical emphases and components of life and teaching which try to make up for this lack. The Methodist tradition, as Donald Dayton points out in his paper for this consultation, has its doctrine of sanctification and its practice of spiritual deepening through small group meetings for mutual confession and prayer. Roman Catholicism has the mystical tradition, with its tacit but important pneumatological assumptions.

In the same way, the Reformed tradition which I represent has dealt with pneumatological issues at crucial points in its development. Issues involving the Holy Spirit's person and work are very much alive in its current experience. I want to devote the majority of this paper to tracing out these pneumatological elements in American Presbyterianism, both in past history and in the present. But first, as has been requested, I will comment on the volume edited by Lukas Vischer which provides a central focus for the consultation.

RESPONSE TO *SPIRIT OF GOD, SPIRIT OF CHRIST*

This work is especially helpful as an introduction to the more sharply delimited issues in the *filioque* controversy. While the same

ground is inevitably covered many times, the reader gains an increasing appreciation of the current mood in the East and West.

It becomes apparent that the situation in the West has turned around since the Councils of Lyons and Florence, that the historical case for the elimination of the *filioque* clause is admitted, and that there is little theological zeal for its retention. Whatever remaining concerns there are seem to be diplomatic in nature. If the *filioque* is to be dropped, as Garrigue indicates, it must be recognized that the theological interpretations of it held in the West have been legitimate and orthodox, however imperfectly expressed.

In the East, on the other hand, the imposition of the *filioque* is still a painful memory, and the whole tradition developed in reaction toward it is a matter of vital interest. It is difficult for Protestants to empathize with the intensity of this concern.

If Reformed observers might agree with Vladimir Lossky² that there are connections between the "depressed area" in Western thought and experience related to the Holy Spirit, and many deformities in the Church's structure and historic functioning, we would have to admit candidly that those deformities appear in Protestantism as well as Roman Catholicism — and add that they may be present in Orthodox church life also. Again, it may be questioned whether these effects of defective spirituality are strictly and entirely traceable to an inadequate formulation of the procession of the Spirit.

The clarifying theses of B. Bolotov, distinguishing between dogmas, theologoumena, and opinions, and relegating much of the controversy to the second and third categories, seem helpful in resolving this question (and perhaps many others as well).³ The objections of Dumitru Staniloae⁴ seem to concern points which are not really at issue, since Western theologians admit the monarchy of the Father and never meant to contest this by their use of the *filioque*.

If the range of opinion in this volume is representative of the whole Church, there should be little difficulty in eliminating this doctrinal block to convergence between the East and West—provided that Eastern Christians will accept in good faith what Westerners say about what they meant by the formula they are now willing to retire from

² Lukas Vischer, ed., *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ* (Geneva, 1981), pp. 71-72.

³ Vischer, p. 135.

⁴ Vischer, p. 175.

use. Then both can work together on improving the Church's pneumatological foundations, both in clarifying the narrower issue of the Spirit's procession (perhaps along the lines suggested by Moltmann), and in the larger concern for developing a practical theology which better insures response to the Spirit's ministry throughout the Church. Unless these continuing tasks are addressed, the effort to unite East and West will founder almost as rapidly as it did in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The NCC study, "Towards the Common Expression of the Apostolic Faith Today," should encourage the use of the original text of the Creed, without the *filioque*, among its member communions. It should offer a relatively brief historical and theological basis for this change, endeavoring to indicate the sensitivity of the issue for Orthodox Christians, without going into too much detail. Beyond this, the N.C.C. needs to give much more attention to the first recommendation in the W.C.C. Memorandum, addressing the question of how we may encourage the growth of a vigorous trinitarian spirituality among Protestants.

As a Presbyterian, I would recommend that the P.C. (U.S.A.) follow the same approach as it takes stock of its doctrinal heritage and formulates a new confessional statement for this newly reunited church.

THE HOLY SPIRIT AND AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM

Handling of the Filioque Clause

As Dietrich Ritschl indicates, Reformed thinking about the delimited question of the *filioque* clause has been content to copy the Western tradition. This is especially true of American Presbyterianism, which has engaged in little creative reflection either to interpret or to transcend the received position.

The Old Princeton theology, the result of a mixture of scholastic Reformed theology with Scottish Common Sense Realist philosophy, bears out this generalization. Reflecting Calvin's reserved attitude toward metaphysical speculation, Charles Hodge wants to limit theologizing on the matter to stating biblical data: "Paternity, therefore, is the distinguishing property of the Father; filiation of the Son; and procession of the Spirit. It will be observed that no attempt at explanation of these relations is given in these ecumenical creeds . . . The mere facts as revealed in scripture are affirmed."⁵ Hodge faults the fathers for going beyond scripture to assert the

⁵ Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology* (Grand Rapids, 1952), 1, p. 461.

monarchy of the Father,⁶ and comments, "The Reformers themselves were little inclined to enter into these speculations."⁷

Hodge is uneasy even with much talk about the eternal generation of the Son: filiation could mean "derivation of essence," but it could also simply mean sameness of nature, equality, likeness or affection, which are also qualities in the father/son relationship.⁸ As for the Holy Spirit, Hodge simply reasserts "the common church doctrine" that the Spirit proceeds "equally from the Father and the Son," noting that "the Church in calling the relation, thus indicated, a procession, does not attempt to explain it"; for in fact it is "incomprehensible, and therefore inexplicable."⁹

A. A. Hodge provides a more explicit citation of the Hodges' favorite theologian, Francis Turretine, who follows the *filioque* into perilous waters:

The Son emanates in the way of generation, which affects not only personality, but similitude, on account of which the Son is called the image of the Father, and in consequence of which he receives the property of communicating the same essence to another person; but the Spirit, by the way of spiration, which affects only personality, and in consequence of which the person who proceeds does not receive the property of communicating the same essence to another person.¹⁰

The biblicism which A. A. Hodge shared with his father prevented him from adopting this explicit subordination of the Spirit:

. . . In order to make the method of the divine unity in Trinity more apparent, theologians have pressed the idea of derivation and subordination in the order of personal subsistence too far. This ground is at once sacred and mysterious. The points given by Scripture are not to be pressed nor speculated upon, but received and confessed nakedly.¹¹

⁶ Hodge, 1, p. 465.

⁷ Ibid. p. 466.

⁸ Ibid. pp. 468-69.

⁹ Ibid. p. 477.

¹⁰ A. A. Hodge, *Outlines of Theology* (Grand Rapids, 1972), p. 190.

¹¹ Ibid.

It seems apparent that the Princeton theologians did not accurately understand the Fathers on the meaning of filiation and procession, and also that their positivist biblicism was unable to penetrate behind the economic Trinity to make statements about the ontological Trinity. A position as reticent as this has difficulty distinguishing the Spirit from the Son, since both manifest equality, likeness and affection with respect to the Father. Nevertheless, the concern to avoid metaphysics and *theologia gloriae* which the Hodges display is probably characteristic not only of them, but of many American Presbyterians before and after their time.

The Old Princeton theology was displaced from mainline Presbyterianism by Neo-Reformational theology in the 1930s, although it continues to be dominant in several smaller Reformed communions, exerting a strong persisting influence within the larger contemporary Evangelical Movement. The strong residual attachment to the Westminster Confession in these circles gives the *filioque* a tacit continuing support, though the issue is hardly discussed.

It is questionable how much Karl Barth's defense of the *filioque* has really captured the theological mind of recent mainline Presbyterianism. George Hendry did not follow Barth here, as Alasdair Heron points out.¹² Many Presbyterians during the period of Neo-Orthodox dominance (1930s—1950s) were trained in theology using Emil Brunner's clearer and more concise texts, and Brunner seems to dismiss rather than discuss trinitarian theology at this level.¹³ The wilder strains of secular theology during the 1960s were even less amenable to such questions.

Among more recent American theologians whose thought is impacting Presbyterianism in this country, my guess is that most would surrender the *filioque* rather quickly in order to facilitate unity with the Orthodox—but not always for reasons which would please Orthodoxy. I have sent out some enquiries to Presbyterian theologians, and may have more to report on this at the consultation.

Broader Pneumatological Issues in the Presbyterian Tradition

There is a common stereotype of Calvinism as rationalistic and spiritually cold. This is, however, supportable only from selective

¹²Vischer, p. 113.

¹³Emil Brunner, *The Christian Doctrine of God* (London, 1949), pp. 226-27.

evidence: the Reformed scholasticism developing after Beza; those who continue to hold unmodified forms of this; and parts of the Dutch Reformed community which are reacting against any emphasis on Christian experience because of the roles this played in Liberal theology, or in the Puritan/Precisionist movement in Holland.

Calvin's own thinking has been characterized as a theology which gives prominence to the role of the Holy Spirit. The Augustinian emphasis on the sovereignty of God and human depravity leads inevitably to a stress on the work of the Spirit in prevenient grace. Calvin's Augustinianism is also practically focussed on spiritual issues in the life of the believer. At its outset it confronts the reader existentially and experientially: self-knowledge can only be found in knowing God, and this comes only as we perceive ourselves *coram deo* in a vision which has been spiritually illuminated. The stress on the experience of encountering God in repentance is continued in Calvin's careful reconstruction of the doctrine of sanctification through the mortification of sin, regrounded on the Protestant understanding of justification. Calvin's pneumatology is not centered in theoretical definitions connected with the Trinity, but in a concern for the average believer's practical appropriation of the Holy Spirit's distinctive ministries as described in the text of Scripture.

This practical experiential concern is even more pronounced in the Puritan Calvinism which mediated the Reformer's thinking in England and America. Puritanism, first through Perkins and Ames and later through Jonathan Edwards, was the dominant theological strain in American Presbyterianism prior to the rise of the Princeton theology in the nineteenth century. In order to appreciate the extraordinary depth of pneumatological concerns in this theological movement we shall have to look at its development also in the context of Congregationalism, since the boundaries of church polity are largely irrelevant to the currents of theological cross-pollination in these two Reformed communions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Puritanism was essentially an effort to continue the Reformation impulse, not simply in purifying the church of Romanist elements in its liturgy and polity, but above all in producing whole congregations of "visible saints" who would exhibit not only sound doctrine but holy lives. Challenged by Counter-Reformation piety and depressed by cheap grace among Protestants, the Puritans worked hard to construct a genuinely Protestant spirituality.

It is important to note that in the process they immersed themselves in patristic literature. In many Puritans there are many more references to the Fathers than to Reformation authors or later Calvinists. It is no exaggeration to say that Puritan theologians lived in the same spiritual atmosphere that the early Fathers breathed, since those responding to Puritan spirituality find the same qualities attracting them in the Greek and Latin patrologies.

Following Calvin's lead, English Puritans developed an elaborate emphasis on sanctification, reattached to a Reformation base. There is, however, a distinctive enlargement of regeneration, the first stage of sanctification, in their thought and practice. The Puritans are the origin of all later "born again" movements. Most of them practiced infant baptism, but they were extremely reserved in what they attributed to its meaning. Conscious conversion, for Puritans, was judged an essential sign of the reality of regeneration by the Spirit.

Later Puritans like Cotton Mather allowed for great diversity in the timing and manner of conversion, and were really looking for a vital current experience of the Holy Spirit rather than for a datable crisis. But all Puritans were united in the insistence that real Christians must be born of the Spirit as well as of water, and this cannot be taken for granted even among those baptized. This accounts for the strong emphasis on evangelism even among the churched in Puritan-based traditions such as modern Fundamentalism, Evangelicalism, and Pentecostalism.

It is significant that one of the ways in which believers could be assured of their regeneration was through the internal witness of the Holy Spirit, following Rom 8.16 and Gal 4.6. More "evangelical" Puritans, like John Cotton, used this pneumatological canon; others considered this approach antinomian, and stressed the inspection of works as the only objective canon of conversion, following 1 John. Luther, incidentally, might have considered both approaches legalistic, as diverting attention from the justifying work of Christ, appropriated by simple faith.

During the sixteenth century, Puritans produced an immense literature of spiritual edification. This involved a number of genres, including tracts leading the reader toward regeneration; treatises on the growth and conduct of the Christian life; and manuals of spiritual warfare (categories paralleled in the spiritual literature of the Counter-Reformation). The titles of some of the major works give the flavor of this practical biblical spirituality: Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Pietie*;

Robert Bolton's *A Comfortable Walking with God*; and Thomas Goodwin's remarkable Protestant version of *The Dark Night of the Soul*, *A Child of Light Walking in Darkness*.

In the whole pattern of the Christian life as the Puritans conceived it, the Holy Spirit played many crucial roles. He mediated the application of Christ's saving work in regeneration; in assurance of salvation; in enabling prayer; in the illumination of Scripture and doctrine to produce "the power of godliness" rather than a formalistic, "notional" orthodoxy; in bearing witness; and in facilitating a constant walk of communion with God.

Thus it is not surprising that through theologians like Richard Sibbes and John Owen, Puritanism produced the largest body of literature on the Holy Spirit in Anglo-American theology. Owen produced four monumental works on the subject: the *Pneumatologia*; *Of Communion with God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*; *A Discourse of the Work of the Holy Spirit in Prayer*; and *The Grace and Duty of Being Spiritually Minded*.

The characteristic effort of Owen, and of the many other Puritans who wrote about the Holy Spirit in shorter works, is not to inculcate correct theory about the person of the Holy Spirit, but to evoke vigorous practical response to his ministry as it is described in the text of Scripture. Puritans, like Wesleyans, were concerned that lay Christians would have orthodox opinions about the faith. But they were even more concerned that average believers would be exercising faith, and thus enjoying communion with the Holy Spirit in all his ministries as described in Scripture.

The Puritan movement, and the movements of evangelical awakening which carried forward its essential thrust in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were not content even with a broad-scale catechesis of the laity along pneumatological lines, something which is much beyond us today. They would not settle for anything less than personal confrontation of individual believers with biblical directives indicating what the Holy Spirit should be doing in their lives, followed by appropriate responses of faith and obedience.

There was, of course, one area of biblical pneumatology which was off limits to the Puritans: the Lukan texts dealing with the "extraordinary gifts" of the Spirit. The Reformers had found it advantageous, against their Catholic adversaries and the Protestant enthusiasts of the Left Wing, to limit the charismata of 1 Cor 9 to the apostolic age. Even so, visions and prophetic revelations had a way of spilling

over into Puritan experience, and lurk not far under the surface of the literature.

And Cotton Mather, an omnivorous reader of the fathers and practitioner of ascetic piety, developed another pneumatological strand which went back to Joachim of Fiore and had resurfaced in Puritan spirituality: the notion of a coming "age of the Spirit." After a night-long vigil interceding for the whole of Christ's body, including the Eastern Churches, Mather struck notes which are significant both for later revivalism and for the modern Charismatic Renewal:

We can do very Little. Our Encumbrances are insuperable; our Difficulties are infinite. If He would please, to fulfill the ancient Prophecy, of pouring out the Spirit on all Flesh, and revive the extraordinary and supernatural Operations with which He planted His Religion in the primitive Times of Christianity . . . and fly thro' the World with the everlasting Gospel to preach unto the Nations, wonderful Things would be done immediately; His Kingdome would make those Advances in a Day, which under our present and fruitless Labours, are scarce made in an Age . . . I concluded with a strong Impression on my Mind; /These times /are coming! They are coming! . . . They will quickly be upon us; and the World shall be shaken wonderfully!¹⁴

This diary entry of 1716 marks an enlarging dimension of Puritan pneumatology. Experience of the Spirit was no longer focussed simply in the growth of mystical piety in the individual saint. Now it is acquiring a corporate dimension, in a context like that of the second chapter of Acts: the outpouring of the Spirit to turn congregations into garrisons of believers equipped for extraordinary tasks in mission.

This brings us to the brink of the Great Awakening, and to the theology of Jonathan Edwards, both of which were critical factors in the future of American Presbyterianism. As Leonard Trinterud has ably documented, the Presbyterian Church in this country was literally forged in the fires of the awakening movement of restored Puritan spirituality during the 1730s and 40s. British Calvinism was lapsing toward scholastic formalism. The Synod of Philadelphia was willing to settle for "notional" professions of faith in the doctrinal formulae

¹⁴Cotton Mather, *Diary* (New York, 1957), 2, pp. 365-66.

of the Westminster Confession, and was indifferent toward assurance of personal commitment to Christ. William Tennent and the graduates of his Log College awakened congregations by reasserting the categories of Puritan spirituality, including regeneration and vital experience of the Spirit.

Trinterud comments that spiritual awakening was achieved here not by detouring dogma, but by applying doctrine to the laity in terms they could understand.

One of the striking aspects of the preaching of the Log College men was its heavy dogmatical approach and content. It might have been expected that at least during the revival their preaching would have been more popular and topical, and cast in terms of their hearers' interests, fears, hopes, and needs. Instead, these men faced the problems of their day and analyzed them dogmatically. In their preaching they erected before their auditors the heavy structure of the Federal theology, and then, so to speak, stood between it and their people to reason and plead. To their hearers they argued that this dogmatic structure gave a true picture of the relations between God, man, and the world.¹⁵

Much literature about the Awakening has obscured the fact that it was in no case the product of novel doctrinal or methodological additives. It appears simultaneously, wherever basic doctrine is being practically focussed on Christian living: in Germany, in Zinzendorf's "Moravian" movement which is really a rebirth of Lutheran Pietism; in England, in the Wesley's Arminian redaction of Puritan spirituality; and in American Calvinism, restoring its Puritan roots. (Ironically and typically, the "Old Lights" who resisted the Awakening were really modernists who had forgotten their Puritan origins, while the "New Lights" were the real conservatives.)

The theologian who rose out of the Awakening controversy to dominate American Presbyterianism between the 1740s and the 1830s happened to be a Congregationalist. Jonathan Edwards restates and sums up Puritan spirituality in the way that Bach epitomizes the Baroque era. But he is also a great innovator and an original mind, and he continues the development of Calvinism toward a fullblown

¹⁵Leonard Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition* (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 177.

theology of radical dependence on the Spirit.

Edwards' practical theology is dominated by its focus on the difference between theoretical orthodoxy and the spiritually illuminated vision of faith. His concern for his well-catechized but spiritually inert parishioners, whose ultimate concern was not God but success in business, was that the Spirit would illuminate their minds with "a divine and supernatural light," producing "a true sense of the divine and superlative excellency of the things of religion; a real sense of the excellency of God and Jesus Christ, and of the work of redemption, and the ways and works of God revealed in the gospel."¹⁶

Edwards' famous sermon evades his real text, which is Ephesians 1.17-18: "I keep asking that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the glorious Father, may give you the Spirit of wisdom and revelation, so that you may know him better. I pray also that the eyes of your heart may be enlightened in order that you may know the hope to which he has called you." As Edwards comments, "It is not a thing that belongs to reason, to see the beauty and loveliness of spiritual things; it is not a speculative thing, but depends on the sense of the heart."¹⁷ This restates the core of Puritan spirituality. It is not anti-intellectual pietism, because what Edwards means by "the heart" is not emotion, but the fusion of the mind, will and affections at the core of personality. What it describes is an orthodoxy which has come to determine the thoughts, words and actions of an individual, because the Holy Spirit has transformed concepts into ultimate concerns, through the experience of union with Christ.

The significance of this combination in Edwards' theology is that he did not simply insist, as all Puritans did, that each Christian should become a practicing mystic, cultivating a personal relationship with the indwelling Spirit. Edwards went beyond this to assert that all Christians should unite to pray for a worldwide outpouring of the Holy Spirit to renew the Church, so that it would constitute a Messianic people which would transform society and culture even before the personal return of Christ. In Edwardsean theology the reign of the Spirit through a renewed Church anticipates the millennial rule of Christ, introducing justice and a unified world society through what might be called a "realized pneumatology."

¹⁶Jonathan Edwards, "A Divine and Supernatural Light," in *Works*, ed., Serone E. Dwight (Edinburgh, 1974), 2, p. 12.

¹⁷Edwards, p. 16.

The resulting theology gave New School Presbyterianism a remarkable spiritual dynamism undergirding the social dynamism which sought the abolition of slavery and other reforms. The individual and corporate dimensions of experiencing the Spirit were generally foundational to the reform movement, although Charles Finney feared that enthusiasm for reform would outrun revival.

At this point we need to note that the Protestant efforts at social transformation through spiritual renewal were a multitradeational affair, like the first Awakening. Wesley's perfectionism had one set of dynamics which aided the reform movement; Edwardsean Calvinism had analogous elements; and even Lutheran Pietism overflowed its theological container to impact society. The common element which united all these traditions in a united front working for individual and social conversion during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a focussed concern for spiritual vitality, and a pronounced dependence on the Holy Spirit.

This synthesis, which in its Reformed expression is traced by H. Richard Niebuhr in *The Kingdom of God in America*, and George Marsden in *The Presbyterian Mind and the New School Experience*, began to break up with the emergence of Finneyan revivalism. In a pattern which has become depressingly familiar, Charles Finney united bad theology about the Holy Spirit's work with strong promotion of the Edwardsean dynamism in mission. The Princeton theology, on the other hand, maintained scholastic accuracy on doctrine while moving steadily away from the emphasis on the Spirit which characterized its founders, leaders like Archibald Alexander and Samuel Miller. B. B. Warfield's writings are models of logical and theological clarity. But they are insensitive to the values emerging in the Wesleyan and Pentecostal movements despite their theological imbalance. And they lean away from the original pneumatological concern of American Presbyterianism in the direction of a lucid but enervated rationalism.

During the early twentieth century this scholastic Reformed synthesis was opposed in American Presbyterianism, first by forms of Liberal theology, and later by the Neo-Reformation theology of Barth and Brunner. In the 1930s J. Gresham Machen and others continuing the Old Princeton tradition seceded from mainline Presbyterianism to form the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, after establishing Westminster Seminary to continue the line of Warfield and the Hodges. The parent church was thus left in the control of Neo-Orthodoxy and Neo-Liberal theologies along the line of Paul Tillich.

None of these twentieth-century Reformed variants preserved much of the pneumatological emphasis of early Presbyterianism. The Westminster theology was virtually allergic to practical pneumatology, since it associated experiential Christianity with Liberalism and existentialism. Westminster was increasingly influenced by Dutch theology in the school of Abraham Kuyper. But while Kuyper's movement had risen out of the *Reveil*, the Second Evangelical Awakening in Europe, his descendants were reacting against the experiential excesses of Dutch-based fundamentalism.

In mainline Presbyterianism, meanwhile, Barthians replayed this theological objectivism in another key. Despite its merits in other areas, Neo-Orthodoxy largely ignored both practical and theoretical concerns in the area of pneumatology. During the 1960s, the theological center of Presbyterianism began to break up into Neo-Liberal variants which had little resemblance to the Reformed tradition in either their theological shape or pneumatological focus. Confronting the Death of God emphasis and other forms of secular theology, James McCord, President of Princeton Seminary, complained that Presbyterian theology had become "a shambles." Other critics complained of "theological amnesia" in the mainline Presbyterian community.

John Mackay, who preceded McCord as President of Princeton, had already begun to investigate what Henry P. Van Dusen called the "Third Force" in world Christianity, Pentecostalism, through his friendship with Dr. David DuPlessis. By the 1970s it seemed that Mackay had transferred his hopes for both renewal and reunion to the spiritual resurgence appearing among Charismatics and Evangelicals. Indeed, if we are looking for trinitarian theology lived out daily in a practical manner, laypeople in these movements may be the best examples in current Protestantism. They understand in a very personal way the role of the Son in redemption, and they know more than most Christians about the Holy Spirit's work as defined by Scripture, despite their weakness in the area of social concern.

It may be, however, that real trinitarian balance is not present in the life-experience of any current network of Christians. There may really be at least three "ecumenical movements" in the world today: "The Church of the Father," which is Conciliar Ecumenism with its characteristic concerns for justice and proper rulership of Creation; "The Church of the Son," which is the Lausanne Movement with its concern for proclaiming Jesus Christ in evangelism; and "The Church of the Spirit," the Pentecostal/Charismatic world fellowship,

with its effort to make up for the lack of pneumatology in the rest of the Church. It would be cheering if we could define Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy as "churches of the Trinity." But these communions often seem to need cross-pollination from other sectors in order to gain full vitality in the use of their distinctive gifts. Perhaps none of us can live out trinitarian theology except as we move toward trinitarian unity.

Returning to the Presbyterian scene: in the 1970s and 1980s new theological currents emerged which could be fruitful for fresh pneumatological insights. Whether liberation and process theologies will actually develop pneumatologically still remains to be seen.

Meanwhile, there are evidences that mainline Presbyterianism is seeking to find its way back to the Reformed tradition of spirituality. Influenced by the Lilly Foundation's study of spiritual life on seminary campuses, the United Presbyterian Church set up a series of forums on Reformed Piety in its related seminaries. Dr. McCord called for historical study of the spiritual climate of Presbyterianism during its great eras of missionary expansion, and an effort to translate conclusions from this study into the modern situation.

Two theological streams in the church, converging somewhat on one another are reemphasizing Reformed spirituality. One is a new conservative impulse which Thomas Oden, a Methodist theologian, has called "Post-Modern Orthodoxy." As Neo-Orthodoxy sprang from a rediscovery of the Reformers, Post-Modern Orthodoxy emerges from a broader look including the Reformation tradition but reaching back into the patristic era, and responding both to the theology and spirituality of the fathers.

The other theological current is a post-Fundamentalist evangelicalism which is also quite catholic in its tastes and influences. A good example of this strand is Donald Bloesch, a U.C.C. theologian from a German Reformed background teaching in a Presbyterian seminary. Bloesch's theology is grounded in Luther and Calvin; the Puritans and Pietists; Barth, Thielicke, Forsyth and other conservative modern thinkers; and patristic authorities like Augustine and Irenaeus. Bloesch is deeply concerned about the church's need for creedal formulations defining the limits of the pluralism which has been the ethos of mainline Presbyterianism since the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy.

The *Confession of 1967*, produced by a committee headed by Edward Dowey, attempted to apply Barthian theology to current social problems, centered around the doctrine of reconciliation. It did not

have a large pneumatological component. Since the reunion of the United Presbyterian Church and the Presbyterian Church in the United States, a committee has begun to work on a new doctrinal statement for the reunited church. The chances are that any document produced by this committee will not penetrate into new ground in pneumatology or in other areas, but will restate the core of Reformed theology within a short compass, in order to function as theological cement binding the reunited church.

Meanwhile, sectarian Calvinism in the smaller Presbyterian churches is developing larger social and cultural concerns, in common with the larger Evangelical Movement in which it is a main strand. The influence of Abraham Kuyper is strong here. Kuyper's doctrine of Common Grace and his quite developed pneumatology supply spiritual dimensions which are missing in most modern Reformed expressions of social concern. Whether any of the Reformed strains visible today will develop the spiritual dynamism of Edwardsean Calvinism, however, remains to be seen.

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Pneumatological Issues in the Holiness Movement

DONALD W. DAYTON

LOST AS IT IS BETWEEN the better understood evangelical and pentecostal traditions (between which it is the historical and theological bridge), the "holiness movement" was one of the most influential religious movements in nineteenth century America and has produced in the twentieth century a cluster of denominations and institutions which, with the products of their missions and other forms of international impact, constitute one of the more recent "world confessional communions" to emerge on the Christian landscape. This "holiness movement" is basically a variation within Methodism, but has in this century evolved into a distinct ecclesiastical and theological tradition represented by its interdenominational "ecumenical" agency, the Christian Holiness Association, and the related Wesleyan Theological Society. Since this movement is not well known in wider church circles and is not yet well chronicled in the studies of American religion, it is necessary to preface this study with a more extensive introduction to the movement whose pneumatology is described in this paper.

Like the evangelical revival before it and the pentecostal movement which it spawned, the holiness movement has been a complex spiritual movement with many subsidiary currents and eddies that make it difficult to describe simply. It was born in the 1830s in the confluence of recently imported Methodism and the older American revivalist traditions as they were finding current expression in the evangelism of Charles G. Finney, the so-called "father of modern revivalism." The motivating force was a reassertion of a variation

on the doctrine of "Christian perfection" or "entire sanctification" that had been articulated by John Wesley in the preceeding century. Essentially it was a spiritual movement that involved a search for a deeper spirituality or a "higher Christian life" that took on many characteristics of the more recent charismatic movement. Within its broader emphasis on process and growth within sanctification, this movement expected generally a second "crisis" or "blessing" following conversion in which a high degree of consecration and sanctification took place so that the believer was lifted to a new plane of spirituality and purity of intention that permitted a life of "victory" over sin. In the formative years before the Civil War this movement gathered force, especially in the revival of 1857-58, and, like the charismatic movement of today, broke the boundaries of Methodism to become an interdenominational spiritual revival that had wide impact among Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, and others. This interdenominational impact and growing tensions within Methodism led eventually to new sect formation and a process of realignment and new denominational configurations still in the process of taking shape.

The vanguard of this new configuration was in two splits within Methodism during the antebellum period. Both groups antedated the denominational formation of the holiness movement proper, but both were efforts to preserve themes of original Methodism (or at least current perceptions of what constituted the themes of primitive Methodism). Such efforts to preserve original Methodism led naturally to an emphasis on Wesley's teachings on Christian Perfection (though one must, of course, notice a nuancing provided by the optimistic — and thus perfectionist — impulse of the American antebellum experience). The Wesleyan Methodist Connection (now the Wesleyan Church by virtue of a 1968 merger with the Pilgrim Holiness Church) was founded in protest against the Methodist Episcopal compromise of Wesley's anti-slavery convictions and developed a reformist platform combined with a congregationalism that reflected a corrective to a conservative episcopacy that had tried to suppress Wesleyan dissent and abolitionist activity. Similarly the Free Methodist Church emerged as a protest against the *embourgeoisement* of classical Methodism and its assimilation into traditional church life, especially the adoption of the "pew rental" system that Free Methodists felt hampered Methodism's historic relationship to the poor and forms of worship that minimized congregational participation in music and

liturgy — as well as the concern shared with the Wesleyans about Methodist compromise on slavery. Both churches, as we have suggested, emphasized doctrines of “Christian perfection” and with the rise of the holiness movement proper and under its influence moved toward identification with the larger movement.

The holiness movement proper, especially in its more Methodistic wings, tends to look back to the work of Phoebe Palmer and her doctor husband Walter C. Palmer. Phoebe was known especially for her widely imitated “Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness” that took the shape of a parlor “house church” meeting somewhat akin to some facets of the more recent charismatic movement. This movement had wide impact among the leadership of Methodism and eventually broadened its impact as church leaders and educators in a number of denominations came into the experience of “entire sanctification.” Methodist preachers identified with the movement founded just after the Civil War a National Campmeeting Association for the Promotion of Christian Holiness, the precursor of today’s Christian Holiness Association. The movement spread through independent camp meeting associations, local and state “holiness” associations, independent mission societies carrying the message, innumerable rescue missions, and various other institutions spread across the continent and around the world in a very loose but identifiable network. By the end of the century tensions with Methodism had increased with the traditionalists accusing the holiness folk of a new “specialty” or “hobby” that upset the delicate balance of classical Methodism while the holiness advocates accused the Methodists of losing touch with both the teachings (especially the Wesleyan emphasis on sanctification but also more generally a broader defection from classical Christianity) and disciplines of early Methodism. The expulsion/departure of holiness advocates from Methodism, the increasing interdenominationalization of the movement, and a weakening of national holiness leadership producing a form of scattered seeding in which the fragments of the holiness network were spread across the North American continent to contribute to the rise of innumerable new denominations.

The first of these denominations to emerge in the wake of the holiness revival was the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), which in the early 1880s combined the Wesleyan/Holiness soteriology with a Campbellite ecclesiology which hoped to transcend the sects and denominations as the new “Church of God.” Like the Campbellite

Disciples of Christ, this vision led in some cases to an ecumenical concern illustrated in the extended involvement of the late John Smith in the NCCC Faith and Order Commission. Its distinctive ecclesiology, however, led the Church of God to stand aloof from other denominations and thus interdenominational agencies like the Christian Holiness Association with which it nonetheless cooperates.

More typical of the holiness movement and its largest denominational product has been the Church of the Nazarene which took shape at the turn of the century in an agglutinative process by which various fragments of the broader holiness movement have coalesced to form a new denomination. This denomination, while proud of its interdenominational origins, has felt the strongest loyalty to the more conservative and more Methodistic leaders of the National Campmeeting Association and reveals in its life and ethos the profound influence of the campmeeting culture. At the same time the radicals of the period (here so-called because of their affinity with doctrines of divine healing and the rising tide of premillennialism — topics forbidden on the platform of the National Campmeeting Association) tended by a similar process to gather into what became the Pilgrim Holiness Church, a major tributary of the present Wesleyan Church. Many other similar groups were also founded at the turn of the century, but some of these moved on into Pentecostalism and others have tended to maintain a more isolated existence.

Perhaps the best known product of the holiness movement has been the Salvation Army. William Booth was converted under the evangelistic ministry in England of Phoebe Palmer's pastor, and his wife-to-be Catherine Mumford felt called into public ministry under the influence and example of Phoebe Palmer during her several years of evangelistic tours of England in the wake of the Revival of 1857-58. In a pattern reminiscent of similar developments in America, the Booth's concern for the disenfranchised and the downtrodden led to tensions with a Methodism rapidly moving into the middle class and a separate organization incarnating the polemic against bourgeois church life. The identification of the Salvation Army with the Holiness Movement has been particularly strong in the United States where the army has been active in the Christian Holiness Association and has produced in the twentieth century spiritual teachers of broad influence within the larger holiness movement.

The intense piety and disciplined Christian lives of the holiness advocates had a special affinity with the Anabaptist and Quakers of

the nineteenth century, especially those groups that felt the influence of revivalism. Holiness revivalism had great impact on certain yearly meetings of Quakers (especially in Ohio, Kansas, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific Northwest). These holiness Quakers have recently come together in the Evangelical Friends Alliance and many of them have found identity in the broader holiness movement. Similarly the Mennonites and "Dunkers" felt the influence of the holiness revival, especially among the various antecedents of the present Missionary Church and the Brethren in Christ with their roots among the "Dunkers."

The twentieth century has also seen the emergence of a certain dynamic which has swelled the ranks of the Christian Holiness Association with new denominations that have found a "holiness" identity without being strictly products of the holiness revival as such. Along the lines of the fundamentalist/modernist controversy that has divided many Protestant denominations along more conservative and more liberal lines, there have emerged in the present century various conservative Methodist bodies who by their appeal to a form of classical Methodism have often preserved original Wesleyan teachings on sanctification and have thus tended to identify with the holiness churches. Illustrative of this current would be the Evangelical Methodist Church and more recently the Evangelical Church of North America which represents largely congregations of the old Evangelical United Brethren who refused to join the 1968 merger to form the United Methodist Church. Other examples could be given.

In addition to these separate denominational groupings, one needs to give attention to the large pockets of the holiness movement that have remained within the United Methodist Church. The most influential of these would be the circles dominated by Asbury College and Asbury Theological Seminary (both in Wilmore, KY), but one could speak of other colleges, innumerable local campmeetings, the vestiges of various local holiness associations, independent holiness oriented missionary societies and the like that have had great impact within United Methodism. A similar pattern would exist in England with the role of Cliff College within Methodism in that context.

The holiness spirituality has also had a diffusion through many other denominational contexts, especially in a more moderate form known as the "Keswick" or "victorious Christian life" piety. American holiness teachers like Asa Mahan and Hannah Whitall Smith were

determinative in the Oxford and Brighton Holiness Conventions that climaxed in the annual summer conferences held in Keswick in England's lake district. Keswick spirituality had been profoundly influential among Anglican Evangelicals and was reintroduced into America in close association with the revivals of D. L. Moody. Because of the impact of evangelists Finney and Moody American revivalism has been largely suffused with holiness teachings — so much so that holiness spirituality of the Keswick variety is the dominant piety of American revivalistic evangelicalism and the various "faith" missions associated with it from the China Inland Mission to the present. The extent to which this is still true is clear in the writings of such evangelists as Billy Graham and Bill Bright, as well as in the books on the Holy Spirit by such prominent evangelicals as Harold Lindsell and Harold John Ockenga.

One other facet of the holiness constellation deserves mention. As already hinted above, the Pentecostal movement is best understood as an offshoot of the radical wing of the holiness movement; from the holiness perspective it was in a sense a "holiness heresy" that was largely repudiated by the holiness movement in spite of its paternity. As a result of this relationship, many themes of the holiness movement and its piety and spirituality are carried along into Pentecostalism. A large block of the pentecostal movement is also decidedly holiness in doctrine and piety while most of the rest advocates the more moderate Keswick form of the holiness spirituality. More attention will be given to this question below, but Pentecostalism needs to be clearly listed here as one of the currents arising from the holiness revival.

As can be seen from the above effort to delineate the major products of the holiness revival, the movement is very complex and includes many facets that make easy generalization very difficult. In this paper I am attempting to speak in general for as much of the movement as possible, though I will speak most directly out of that aspect of the tradition which has found identification with the Christian Holiness Association. This perspective sets both the Keswick spirituality and Pentecostalism somewhat off to the side as related but not strictly "holiness" traditions.

The Holiness Movement and the Filioque Controversy

The assignment for this paper includes the reviewing of the WCC

discussions on the *filioque* controversy as reported in Faith and Order paper No. 103 edited by Lukas Vischer under the title *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*. This is very difficult to do from the perspective of the holiness movement — for a variety of reasons, but basically because I have not been able to find much literature that speaks directly to this issue. The collected works of Wesley reveal no comment on the *filioque* issue and only a couple of casual references to Nicea, basically in the context of Wesley's Anglican affinity with the church fathers and a special fondness for the Antenicene fathers which he considered especially authoritative in view of his conviction of a radical decline in apostolic faith and piety after Constantine.

On the other hand, it seems clear that Wesley would have followed the Western tradition and affirmed the *filioque*. His abridgement of the Anglican thirty-nine articles of religion into the Methodist twenty-five includes 4. "Of the holy Ghost": "The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Substance, Majesty and Glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God." One is not sure what to make of this appropriation of traditional language, but Wesley's commitment to the *filioque* is made clear in his *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament*. In commenting on John 15.16, he suggests

that he [the Holy Spirit] proceeds from the Son, as well as from the Father, may be fairly argued from His being called the "Spirit of Christ" (1 Peter 1.11), and from His being here said to be sent by Christ from the Father, as well as sent by the Father in His name.

But the situation is complicated interestingly enough by the fact that Wesley dropped the Nicene Creed from the Anglican communion service when he revised it for the American Methodists. It is not known whether Wesley had any reason for this excision other than the fact that the morning prayer service, which he expected to be used with the communion service, already included the Apostles' Creed. Wesley surely used the Nicene creed regularly in his own Anglican worship, and as far as I know, made no critique of its use. At any rate, the Nicene creed was not restored to American Methodist worship until the twentieth century merger of the Northern and Southern churches, long after the holiness departures from Methodism.

A similar situation obtains for the classical systematic theologies

of Methodism that the holiness movement has treasured and the twentieth century expositions of holiness theology. These include occasional references to the *filioque* controversy, but typically in historical sections on the development of the doctrine of the trinity without entering into any discussion of the issues as a live debate. They seem satisfied to live within the Western tradition confessionally.

Within the holiness movement proper the question does not rise with regard to the use of the creed because of the accentuating of the Methodist tendency away from creeds and confessions as normative for church life or a usual part of the liturgy. It is not common for even the Apostles' Creed to be used in holiness worship, though this is changing in some contexts, and the Apostles' Creed is contained, for example, in the Nazarene hymnal and in the latest (1976) revision of the joint hymnal of the Wesleyan and Free Methodist Churches. But the use of the Nicene creed would be as far as I know unheard of.

It could be argued that this reluctance to use the creed is principal, at least in the holiness ethos, which has, if anything, amplified Wesley's tendency to find continuity with "apostolic faith" in terms of spirituality and piety. For Wesley, the "apostolic faith" is to be lived and experienced rather than confessed; it is a matter of the "heart" rather than the mind and propositions. On the other hand, it could be argued that because of the "classical" and "orthodox" character of Wesleyan and holiness thought, it has no real objection to the Nicene creed and could well accomodate it into theology and worship. From this angle the "soteriological" focus of Wesleyan and holiness thought shifts attention away from speculation about the internal life of the trinity to the *opera ad extra*, especially the work of redemption, and views the Holy Spirit primarily in that context. From this perspective one could argue that holiness thought assumes and applies classical trinitarian formulations — that its contribution to trinitarian reflection is practical rather speculative.

This difficulty could lead one in several directions. One might affirm the continuity of Wesley and the holiness tradition with the classical Western tradition and suggest that it so far has no significant contribution to make to trinitarian reflection. Or one might argue that its contribution to the discussion is to raise the fundamental question of whether the "apostolic faith" is basically a matter to be "confessed" — whether in the Nicene creed or otherwise. Or one might argue, somewhat along the lines of Rahner, that one cannot separate

the immanent and economic trinities, and that in the practical and soteriological focus of the Wesleyan tradition certain moves are made that when raised to the level of theological articulation do have implications for the discussion at hand. I have the feeling that when these issues are fully sorted out, elements of all three of these positions will find a place in the discussion, but since I myself am new to these issues and have no history of textual discussion on which to rely, I am reluctant at this point to speculate about what might emerge as a normative position on the issues raised in *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, especially with regard to the *filioque* controversy directly.

On another level, however, the Wesleyan and holiness tradition finds itself drawn into the wider issues of the discussion as they go beyond the question of the *filioque* clause itself. Here we enter debated territory where I am not competent to make an independent judgment, though I am inclined with Yves Congar and others not to attribute the major differences between East and West so exclusively as some to the *filioque* difference. But *if* there is any truth to the thesis of Vladimir Lossky, a surprising result emerges with regard to the holiness movement. In *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ* Andre De Halleaux summarizes the supposedly fatal consequences for Western ecclesiology of the *filioque* — as discerned by Lossky: “the subordination of charisma to the institution, of freedom to power, of the prophetic to the legalistic, of mysticism to scholasticism, of the laity to the clergy.” (pp. 71-72). Again, *if* there is truth in this thesis, there would be a strong tendency in the Wesleyan and holiness tradition toward the “eastern” tradition in spite of apparent acceptance of the “western” *filioque* formulations.

If so, this might be another illustration of the Wesleyan and holiness tradition tendency to break the usual categories of interpretation. It has been a common observation that Wesley attempted a synthesis of the Protestant doctrine of grace with the Catholic vision of sainthood. Albert Outler has argued repeatedly what Wesley represents a sort of “third alternative” to Protestantism and Catholicism:

a Protestant doctrine of original sin minus most of the other elements in classical Protestant soteriology, *plus* a catholic doctrine of perfection *without* its full panoply of priesthood and priestcraft.¹

¹Albert C. Outler, *Theology in the Wesleyan Spirit* (Nashville, 1975), p. 33.

This argument can be continued in the way that Wesley has affinities as well with the disciplines of the radical reformation and its critique of the magisterial reformation while remaining within the "catholic" Anglican tradition.² The point is that Wesley was so "catholic" in his sources that he represents a subtle synthesis that breaks most categories of interpretation. He was both Catholic and Protestant, established and radical in his view of the church, and so on. In a similar way he transcended some of the differences between East and West.

It is clear that the Wesleyan and holiness traditions are deeply dependent on sources outside the Western experience. The Wesleyan tradition has always been profoundly ambivalent about the Augustinian tradition of the West. While it has its affinities (especially in the doctrine of original sin), it has always resisted the implications for election and soteriology as they were mediated by the reformed tradition within Protestantism. Wesley, moreover, thought Pelagius a great saint much maligned by Augustine. A close examination of Wesley's sources (often abridged in his extended *Christian Library*) reveals that among the most determinative were Makarios the Egyptian, Ephraim of Syria (for Wesley the "most awakened" of the early church), Clement of Alexandria, and interestingly the Cappadocians, especially Gregory of Nyssa, according to Outler the most significant source of Wesley's theology of perfection so often misinterpreted because it has been read in the Western rather than the Eastern context.³

As far as I know, these connections have not been pursued as fully as they deserve. They remain one of the highest priorities on the agenda of holiness scholarship. A start has been made in the most recent study of the Wesleyan sources by Paul Bassett of the Church of the Nazarene. He suggests that the holiness views of perfection came close to finding full expression in Gregory of Nyssa, but that the Wesleyan position is essentially a "unique fusion of a genuinely Augustinian perspective with the perspective of Eastern Christianity in the unique context of the thought and worship of the Church of England."⁴ If these

²Cf. Howard Snyder, *The Radical Wesley and Patterns for Church Renewal* (Downers Grove, IL, 1980).

³Cf. the famous, provocative footnote 26 in Albert Outler, ed. *John Wesley* (New York, 1964), pp. 9-11.

⁴Paul M. Bassett and William M. Greathouse, *The Historical Development, "Exploring Christian Holiness, Volume 2"* (Kansas City, 1985), p. 108.

undeveloped hints are correct, and I am inclined to think that they are, then perhaps the Wesleyan tradition will find itself at the center of broader efforts to reconcile the Eastern and Western perspectives — if not precisely at the point of the *filioque* controversy — and we may find in the Wesleyan tradition a significant ecumenical bridge between them.

One final point deserves comment. The “Memorandum” produced by the WCC dialogue suggests that the relevance of the *filioque* is to be found in two “warnings”: the danger of separating the Spirit from Christ in such a way as to allow a “Christologically uncontrolled ‘charismatic enthusiasm’ ” on the one hand and the danger of too radical a subordination of the Spirit to Christ on the other so that the Spirit becomes a mere “power” or “instrument.” If this is to be understood as the meaning of the *filioque* controversy, then we are immediately into the most essential and profound question of the holiness movement — and the greatest ambiguity in its pneumatology. This question will be developed more fully in the next section.

Holiness Pneumatology

Here we are immediately beset with difficulties that need some mention. As will already be clear in the earlier part of this paper, there is a fundamental ambiguity in the holiness movement that makes it difficult to determine what might constitute its normative expression. It has two formative moments — the eighteenth century evangelical revival expressed in the work and teachings of John Wesley and the nineteenth century holiness revival expressed in a variety of strands and teachings. In an earlier era the nineteenth century holiness reading of Wesley was accepted within the movement uncritically. With the more sophisticated scholarship of the last couple of decades the differences between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have become more apparent. As a result the holiness movement is now engaged in a very complex theological and hermeneutical struggle at precisely this point: will Wesley be interpreted through the nineteenth century developments or will Wesley be allowed to correct the nineteenth century. The pneumatological issues are at the center of this struggle, and the final results are not in. I am, moreover, a partisan in these theological debates with some preference for the formulations of the eighteenth century, and readers may wish to take account of this possible bias.

A second problem is the difficulty of interpreting Wesley. His thought is so "catholic" (some might say eclectic) and so subtle a synthesis of apparent opposites (or at least having a tendency to conjunctively relate what many other traditions have disjunctively separated) that few of his successors and interpreters have maintained the same balance and catholicity. Wesley, moreover, has become something of a mirror, in which many interpreters have found enough of their own concern in Wesley that in pursuing that theme have ultimately given a reading of Wesley that reflects back the image of the interpreter. Thus Wesley has been claimed by both sacramentalist and campmeeting preacher, Protestant and Catholic, liberal and conservative, etc. Wesley cannot be all of these; yet he has something in common with each.

I myself am inclined to interpret Wesley as basically a soteriologically and practically oriented theologian. His thought includes, of course, other communal, word-transforming elements and so forth, but these are organized around and rooted in an individual soteriology. This, of course, can be said of much of Protestantism, especially the more "evangelical" versions of that tradition, but there are significant differences in Wesley that deserve attention. In the first place, it should be noticed that Wesley's soteriology works with organic and therapeutic metaphors. That is, the intention of God is to put the world back together, and Wesley is rather optimistic about the extent to which this can be done under grace within history — both personally and socially. The Wesleyan traditions of theology are as a result very leery of the Protestant traditions that cultivate too exclusively "forensic" categories of justification and salvation that do not include "actual" or empirically verifiable transformation. While Wesley learned much from Luther, for example, and incorporated much of his thought on justification into his own thinking, he insisted on pushing beyond these themes to a genuine doctrine on sanctification that becomes in many ways the organizing principle of his thought.

Another way of making the same point is to notice the moral/ethical axis around which Wesley's thought revolves. Wesleyan theology shares much of the critique of Protestantism that the radical reformation, Catholicism and other critics have made at various points — the danger of "cheap grace." For Wesley love rather than faith is the chief theological virtue; faith for him was clearly instrumental to love. Wesley's thought often seems to be organized around the

motif of "love." What was lost in the fall is the ability to love, the essence of sin is the lack of love, what is restored by grace is the ability to love, the goal of the Christian life is "perfect love," and so on. This shift of emphasis is crucial, I believe, to understanding the inner dynamic of the Wesleyan tradition and the shape of its theological reflection. It is no accident that the magisterial reformation left great confessions of faith as its major legacy to the Christian world and the Wesleyan tradition has left instead a trail of acts of mercy and love, including great campaigns against social evil.

Such a position obviously leads to the questions and problems of "perfectionism." At this point Wesley is often described as having a "pessimism of nature and an optimism of grace" that brings into this life what other traditions have reserved to life beyond the grave. From one angle Wesley has a form of "realized eschatology" that conceives of "salvation" primarily in terms of what it means for this world — or perhaps better, that whatever salvation may be in the other world is continuation of the processes begun, and to a great extent achieved, in this world. This may be seen by contrasting Wesley's thought with the Puritanism of his time by which he was so deeply influenced. Both had elaborate schemes of the *ordo salutis* that detailed the progress of the soul from the first promptings of grace through conversion, justification, sanctification, and the Christian life to eschatological themes of glorification. Both traditions agreed on the necessity of "entire sanctification," but Puritanism reserved this for the moment of death and made it a part of "glorification." Wesley wondered why this experience could not be a part of human life and take place this side of the grave. This led eventually to the claim that "entire sanctification" was a blessing to be expected in this life.

But the doctrine of "entire sanctification" must be seen in this larger context, as a point along the long and continuous path toward glorification. It is both preceded and followed by growth in grace and continued sanctification. It is not "sinless perfection" in the strong sense if by that one means being beyond the possibility of sinning. It is a perfecting of the ability to love according to one's capacities at a given point in one's life pilgrimage — a purifying of intentions and a focusing of the will. The Wesleyan tradition has all too often been interpreted by those assuming and importing into the discussion a foreign concept of an absolute "perfection." Here is the significance of interpreting Wesley in terms of the Eastern tradition

rather than the Western tradition. It is also possible to discern in these teachings of Wesley certain echoes of the Eastern doctrine of *theosis*.

Wesleyan pneumatology needs this background because for Wesley the Holy Spirit is to be understood primarily as the instrument by which this whole process of salvation and sanctification is achieved. Though this perspective would be disputed by some, I am inclined to read Wesley very much at this point in the classical Protestant tradition in which the Holy Spirit is the spirit of Christ. I think that it is striking that Wesley does not devote extended attention to the Spirit as such. His treatments are buried in larger discussions, and are, at least according to my reading, very Christocentric in character. For example, Wesley's sermon on "Scriptural Christianity," based significantly on the text "and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost" (Acts 4.31), describes the purpose of the coming of the Spirit in these terms:

It was, to give them (what none can deny to be essential to Christians in all ages) the mind which was in Christ, those holy fruits of the Spirit, which whosoever hath not, is none of His; to fill them with 'love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness' (Gal v.22-24); to endue them with faith (perhaps it might be rendered, *fidelity*), with meekness and temperance; to enable them to crucify the flesh, with its affections and lusts, its passions and desires; and in consequence of that inward change, to fulfil all outward righteousness; to 'walk as Christ also walked,' in the 'work of faith, in the patience of hope, the labour of love' (1 Thes 1.3).⁵

The tendency of Wesley to conceive of the work of the Spirit in almost exclusively sanctification terms is also seen in perhaps his clearest short summary of his teaching on the Holy Spirit, found in his letter "to a Roman Catholic":

I believe the infinite and eternal Spirit of God, equal with the Father and the Son, to be not only perfectly holy in Himself, but the immediate cause of all holiness in us; enlightening our understandings, rectifying our wills and affections, renewing our natures,

⁵Wesley, "Scriptural Christianity," preface, section 4.

uniting our persons to Christ, assuring us of the adoption of sons, leading us in our actions, purifying and sanctifying our souls and bodies, to a full and eternal enjoyment of God.⁶

But there is in Wesley another theme that breaks this pattern to a certain extent. It was his doctrine of "assurance" or "the witness of the Spirit" that so often got him into trouble and caused the epithet of enthusiast to be applied to him in his own time and since. Twenty years later Wesley quotes himself and indicates that he has no reason for retracting his definition of this experience:

by the testimony of the Spirit, I mean, an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God immediately and directly witnesses to my spirit, that I am a child of God; that Jesus Christ hath loved me, and given himself for me; that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God.⁷

I have not studied the role of this doctrine within Methodism in any detail, but some have attached great importance to it as the real key to the growth and impact of Methodism. On the other hand it has had less consistent cultivation in the Wesleyan and Holiness traditions than the doctrine of sanctification. It has not been a major theme in my experience of the holiness movement, though I must remain open to correction at this point.

At any rate, these two themes (a Christologically oriented doctrine of sanctification and a more directly pneumatologically oriented doctrine of assurance) indicate some of the ambiguity in Wesley's thought. The issue can be focused somewhat by raising the question of in what sense Wesley might be appropriately called a "theologian of the spirit." Many have made this claim. For example, Clare Weakley paraphrased some key texts of Wesley under the title *The Holy Spirit and Power*⁸ for modern charismatics. But the title does not sound like Wesley to me; the language is more characteristic of the charismatic movement than the Wesleyan tradition. And the content

⁶Wesley, *Letters*, Vol. 8, also cited in Robert Burtner and Robert E. Chiles, *A Compendium of Wesley's Theology* (New York, 1954), p. 91.

⁷Wesley, "The Witness of the Spirit, Discourse 2," part 2 section 2.

⁸Weakley Clare, *The Holy Spirit and Power* (Plainfield, NJ, 1977).

of the book is primarily about the experience of salvation and includes little direct exposition of teachings about the Holy Spirit. There are similar problems in a thesis by Norman Kellett on "John Wesley and the Restoration of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit to the Church of England in the 18th Century" (Ph. D dissertation, Brandeis University, 1975). Upon closer examination it appears that this is actually a study of Wesley's orientation to Christian experience. It may be that any heightening of Christian experience involves an intensification of a pneumatological orientation, but I am still inclined to argue that one may be experientially oriented in both a Christological mode and a pneumatological mode. If this distinction can be sustained, then I think it is quite clear that Wesley falls in the former camp, though one must grant that this impulse toward a stronger pneumatological orientation is always present in the Wesleyan tradition. Again, at least in my reading, Wesley maintains here a delicate balance that was not always sustained by his followers. The work of the Spirit is firmly rooted for Wesley in the work of Christ and is essentially the application of his benefits to the human soul, but this is a real and active application through the Holy Spirit that cannot be reduced or naturalized to a mere "influence."

This question, however, sets up the problematic that would trouble the next century within Methodism and the holiness movement, and the issue was raised even within Wesley's time by a proposal by the man that Wesley hoped would succeed him as the leader of Methodism, but who unfortunately died before Wesley, the saintly John Fletcher. By the 1770s the pattern of expecting the "second blessing" of "entire sanctification" was well established, and several figures around Trevecca College (the center of the Calvinistic wing of Methodism under the Countess of Huntingdon) began to speak of this moment as a "baptism of the Spirit" to be understood along the line of Pentecost. Fletcher especially was inclined to see in the Scriptures a pattern of history that he felt should be replicated in the life of each believer. This involved a trinitarian division of history into the ages of the Father (basically the Old Testament era), the age of the Son (the Messianic age of the presence of Christ), and the age of the Spirit (basically the age of the church, ushered in by Pentecost and climaxed in the return of Christ). This corresponded quite well to the division of the Christian life into three stages that was emerging in the Wesleyan tradition. Fletcher suggested that pre-Christian existence corresponded to the state of the race in Old Testament times,

that Christian discipleship before entire sanctification corresponded to the ambiguous status of the disciples of Christ before the full empowerment of Pentecost, and that Pentecost should be understood as the moment of entire sanctification of the disciples. It seems to me, at least, that this scheme of Fletcher involves something of a revision of the classical Protestant pattern. In the older way of thinking we remain in the "dispensation" or "covenant" of Christ — though administered by the Holy Spirit. In the new scheme there is a heightened emphasis on the Holy Spirit — we are now in an age of the Holy Spirit that is a different "dispensation" (Fletcher's term) from that of Christ. But whatever we are to make of Fletcher's thought, it is clear that Wesley objected to this scheme on the grounds that it tended to separate the bestowal of the Spirit from conversion or the beginning of the second stage. In this concern Wesley clearly expresses his identification with the classical Protestant tradition on this question, and by force of his leadership managed to suppress Fletcher's position within Methodism — though it always remained in the background and Wesley and Fletcher remained always conscious of this difference in their thinking.

More was at stake in this difference than either realized. During the period of early Methodism, especially in the British context, Fletcher's exposition of Wesleyan soteriology continued to carry the Christocentric and moral transformatory themes of the Wesleyan exposition. But it had the potential of moving in the direction that Wesley feared — to give more autonomy to the Holy Spirit in such a way as to separate the work of the Spirit from the work of Christ and to separate the coming of the Spirit in the life of the individual from initiation into Christian life. At the very least it involved a subtle shift of axis for theological thinking. This can be seen most clearly in the nineteenth century writings of Asa Mahan, the first president of Oberlin College, who wrote books articulating the holiness doctrine in both the style of Wesley and the style of Fletcher. In *The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection* Mahan was careful to insist that the Holy Spirit was merely the administrator of the work of Christ. In the *baptism of the Holy Ghost* the orientation had so shifted that he was anxious to make the point that even Christ was dependent upon the Holy Spirit, the great facilitator of all spiritual life.⁹ This shift in theological axis also in-

⁹I am preparing an edition of these two texts by Asa Mahan which will appear (in 1987?) in the new series, "Sources of American Spirituality," being published by Paulist Press.

volved a subtle shift in exegetical foundations. Wesley had tended to ground his doctrines of soteriology and sanctification in the Johannine and Pauline texts of the New Testament. Fletcher's scheme worked better as an exposition of the Lukan texts, especially the book of Acts. But the Lukan texts lead more naturally to an understanding of the "baptism of the Spirit" in terms of empowerment for witness, service, prophecy and even miracles in a way that moves away from the distinctively Wesleyan soteriology. This struggle was played out in the background of Methodism over the next century.

Wesley's patterns of thought dominated early Methodism in America. There is a debate about whether themes of entire sanctification tended to be suppressed during this period before the holiness revival. I am inclined to think so. It is also clear that the writings of Fletcher, however, began to gain circulation during this period — and his formulations were also in the background. They tended to surface briefly in the late 1830s among the theologians of early Oberlin College, the Congregationalist center of Finney's revivalism that by this time had adopted essentially Methodist theology with regard to sanctification. The American holiness reformulation of entire sanctification tended to mechanize the process of its reception and move the event from goal to precondition of the Christian life. These tendencies accentuated the event-like character of "entire sanctification" and moved in the direction of Fletcher's formulation. Fletcher's formulation gained acceptance especially in the years just before and after the Civil War. After the Civil War, the holiness movement increasingly moved in the direction of the doctrine of the "baptism of the Spirit" as the way in which to articulate Wesleyan themes of "entire sanctification" while Methodism more and more dispaired of the whole issue and tended to move away from the themes of perfection that were so fascinating the holiness movement.¹⁰

The Holiness Movement and Pentecostalism

It should be obvious by now that we are now discussing the

¹⁰These developments are treated in much more detail in my dissertation, "Theological Roots of Pentecostalism" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago Divinity School, 1983), to be published as *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, forthcoming (1987) in the series "Studies in Evangelicalism," published by Scarecrow Press and Zondervan.

theological history that led to the emergence of Pentecostalism. The interpretation of Pentecostalism has often so focused on the distinctive practice of speaking in tongues that the underlying theological substructure has been obscured. My own analysis of early Pentecostal documents has led me to the conclusion that Pentecostalism is best described as a gestalt of four regularly recurring theological themes: conversion (as understood in the revivalist tradition); baptism in the spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues (the evidence aspect of this doctrine is diluted in the charismatic movement and is debated now within classical Pentecostalism); divine healing; and an emphasis on the second coming of Christ. Late nineteenth century holiness theology had moved in all of these directions. The primary shift is the pneumatological one that we described above toward the formulations of Fletcher and the doctrine of the "baptism with the Holy Spirit." This led to a series of new themes — an increased emphasis on the "empowerment" of the Holy Spirit (and the consequent theological problem of how to relate this to the themes of sanctification that had been the hallmark of the holiness movement); a greater emphasis on "prophecy" and speaking under the influence of the Holy Spirit, increased concern about "impressions" (or direct dealings with the Holy Spirit in guidance, etc.). By the late nineteenth century the holiness movement was immersed in these themes, had adopted doctrines of divine healing and had shifted from a post-millennial eschatology to a premillennial eschatology. All that was needed for the emergence of Pentecostalism was the addition of the evidence doctrine. This might well be seen as a resurfacing of the Wesleyan doctrine of "assurance" which had served the same function in the preceeding century. At any rate a biblical search for the evidence of the "baptism of the Spirit" in the book of Acts in a small Bible College outside of Topeka Kansas led to the final articulation of Pentecostal theology and the separation of the holiness movement into those who resisted the practice of glossolalia and attempted to freeze the theology of this trajectory at its pre-Pentecostal stage and those who followed out the trajectory and became the Pentecostal movement.

This split led to a tremendous struggle in which the holiness movement built strong barriers to Pentecostalism and became probably the strongest critic of Pentecostalism in the Christian world. On one level this antipathy must be seen in terms of a struggle over turf. Large segments of the holiness movement were torn down the middle

by the struggle; whole conferences were swept out of holiness churches and into Pentecostalism. The holiness movement (and large segments of revivalistic evangelicalism in the Keswick tradition) repudiated Pentecostalism and moved to disassociate itself from the new movement. One of the most striking signs of this was the movement in the (then) Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene to strike the word "Pentecostal" from the name of the church to avoid any confusion. And the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana) began to emphasize in its name the location of its headquarters so that on all church signs it would be clear that this group was *not* Pentecostal in contradistinction to the many Pentecostal denominations bearing the name "Church of God." This historical position of the holiness movement has been largely maintained into the present. Entering into charismatic experience (especially speaking in tongues) has meant more or less instant excommunication in many holiness denominations, particularly for the clergy, though in some cases closeted charismatics or sympathizers have found a role in holiness leadership.

This phobia of Pentecostalism has had its impact theologically and exegetically on the holiness movement. Most exegetes in the holiness movement deny that glossolalia, as it exists in modern Pentecostal and charismatic experience, can be grounded in the New Testament. They tend to take the Pentecost account as normative and use it to interpret Paul to claim that "speaking in tongues" is a supernatural "missionary gift" of speaking in other "unlearned" (but not "unknown") tongues for the purpose of witness to the gospel. Similarly there is in the holiness movement a certain ambivalence about any stress on the "gifts of the Spirit." When the theme is addressed, it is often with great warnings and caution about the dangers of this emphasis. The popular way of expressing the holiness position is to say that the holiness movement places the emphasis on the "fruits" of the Spirit rather than the "gifts" of the Spirit — and that this is basically the thrust of Paul in 1 Corinthians 12-14. This basic line is, however, not without its dissenters. Howard Snyder, for example, has argued that these concerns have distorted holiness ecclesiology so that the movement has difficulty recognizing the appropriate senses in which the church must be understood to be "charismatic" and in which one may appropriately speak of "gifts of the Spirit."

Genuine theological issues are, of course, at stake in this discussion — ones that have troubled the holiness movement for a century

now. I reveal my own sympathies with the classical holiness movement when I prefer the sanctification motifs and the holiness emphasis on “fruits” and “love” — an emphasis which I believe best captures the thrust of the Wesleyan tradition and the concern of Paul in the key text in Corinthians. The major question that the holiness movement faces theologically, in my view, is whether these themes can be preserved in the late nineteenth century “Pentecostal” formulations. I am inclined to think that the Pentecostals do a better job of reading the key Lukan texts than recent holiness exegesis and more appropriately work out the logic of a pneumatological orientation theologically. But I am, of course, strongly opposed in these positions, and the questions are intensely debated within the movement at the present time. Only time will tell what the final resolution will be, and hopefully what will emerge from these discussions is a new and more subtle synthesis of all the biblical themes that need attention.

Holiness Social and Political Concern

These theological debates within the holiness movement have implications as well for the shape of the holiness social and political witness. History reveals a very complex intertwining of themes that cannot be fully explored here. But it is very significant — and deserving, I believe, of wider ecumenical notice — the extent to which the holiness traditions have been carriers of a quite profound and consistent witness on a series of important social questions that have bedeviled the church over the last century and a half. In fact, nearly every facet of the holiness movement has had a significant social issue at the heart of its emergence, though this has not received the attention that it deserves from outside the movement and has often been forgotten inside the movement. I have tried to explore this in more detail in *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage* (New York, 1976), a study of the social witness of American evangelical traditions when they were more under the sway of the holiness ethos. Let me merely mention three themes of this history of social witness and attempt to make pneumatological correlations wherever possible.

(1) Deeply influenced by the civil rights movement during my college years in the 1960s, I have been fascinated with and explored more fully the question of the interrelationship between the holiness movement and abolitionism in the antebellum era in the United States. Wesley, of course, had been profoundly opposed to slavery and had

great impact on Wilberforce and the British abolitionist movement. Early Methodism in the United States attempted at first to maintain this anti-slavery witness, but soon gradually qualified it when it began to hinder growth, especially in the South. The early antebellum vanguard of the holiness movement — in part by virtue of its claim to represent the “original” thirst of Methodism — was largely abolitionist and may even be said to have intensified this original thirst of Methodism. The American optimism of a new nation born in the midst of enlightenment visions of human perfectability led to much social experimentation in this period — and holiness themes of perfection were easily assimilated into this larger vision and led to a broad-based “reform” platform within the early years of the holiness movement. Such reform (abolitionist, temperance, peace activism, etc.) was seen to play a role in the inauguration of the millennium whose imminence was widely contemplated in the period. (The rise and fall of this reform vision is closely tied to the rise of an intense “post-millennial” eschatology during this period before a decline under the rising influence of the fundamentalist premillennialism.) Even the perhaps excessive moral scrupulosity of the holiness movement heightened the stakes by denying the classical doctrine of the *adiaphora* — the morally neutral practices that for some Reformed theologians of the time included not only smoking and drinking, but also slavery and political despotism. For the holiness folk nothing was morally neutral; a determination had to be made about everything, including slavery; and if a practice was determined to be sinful, it had to be immediately denounced and put away — thus immediate abolitionism. The cumulative effect of these factors was an intense abolitionism that appears among the Wesleyans, the Frees, at early Oberlin College under Evangelist Finney and President Mahan, and within Methodism among the early editors of *The Guide to Christian Perfection*.

It is fascinating to read this literature after a century and a half. Contrary to what many would expect, this abolitionist vision was grounded in an intensification of piety rather than in its dilution. Finney was to argue that resistance to reforms was a sign of a vapid piety and to insist that taking the wrong position on a question of civil rights was a “hindrance to revival” that could stop the work of the Spirit in a church or community. The Wesleyans were proud of the conjunction of “piety and radicalism” in their midst. In fact, I have become increasingly fascinated with the parallels between these

movements and contemporary liberation theologies. Some of these are on the structural and methodological level: the Methodist praxeological and ethical orientation; the expectation of a form of salvation within history; the similar function of perfectionism and millennialism in the earlier period and utopianism (whether Marxist or not) in the more recent movements; the consequent impatience with "realist" thinking in both periods, and so on. Other parallels relate to a common content: a preferential option for the poor that characterized Wesley and much of the holiness movement; the understanding of God as a deliverer of the oppressed, and so on. The struggle against slavery led in some similar paths of radicalization. What began as a sympathy for the slave and a conviction that slavery was a sin led to acts of civil disobedience through the underground railroad and other acts of resistance to fugitive slave laws and finally to a defense of a form of "just revolution" that defended John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry and the impending Civil War. These parallels are just beginning to be studied and understood, but there is surprising receptiveness to making many of these connections in the modern holiness movement.¹¹

(2) As has always been suggested, Methodism has always had a special relationship to the poor. Much of the power of early Methodism was its turn to the unchurched poor more or less untouched by the Church of England. Wesley's own struggles with field preaching and his own turn to the miners and other workers required a profound resocialization for this Oxford don. But Wesley came to understand that Methodism was called to the poor and argued that her spiritual vitality was bound up in keeping this task at the center of her vision. Historians are still trying to sort out the role of the Methodism in the modernizing of English society and the rise of the trade unions in the nineteenth century. The holiness movement arose in the period

¹¹A significant beginning to such discussions may be found in Theodore Runyon (ed.), *Sanctification and Liberation* (Nashville, 1980), the proceedings of the sixth Oxford Institute of Methodist Theological Studies, July 18-27, 1977, which was also noteworthy for bringing together in a common arena theologians of both the holiness movement and classical Methodism. Articles arguing that Wesley was a sort of "liberation theologian" may be found a short-lived periodical *The Epworth Pulpit* founded largely by students and faculty of the Nazarene Theological Seminary in Kansas City.

of Methodism's emergence into the middle class and into traditional church life — and largely in response to that dynamic. It is becoming clearer that nearly every facet of the holiness movement incarnated in its origins some form of a "preferential option for the poor." In antebellum America this was closely tied up with the anti-slavery struggle. The Free Methodist Church was especially articulate about this theme in its struggle against the pew rental system that was increasingly adopted within Methodism to finance the more expensive churches that were being built. Founder B. T. Roberts proclaimed these principles in the founding editorial of his journal *The Earnest Christian*, arguing from the Lukan texts that are so much used today that Christ's own turn to the poor was the crowning proof of his messianship and that following the model of Christ was of the *esse* rather than the *bene esse* of the church. In his words, "There are hot controversies about the true church. . . . It may be that there cannot be a church without a bishop, or that there can. There can be none without a gospel, and a gospel for the poor."

Phoebe Palmer, who represents in many ways the mid-century dilution of social reform in the holiness movement (especially the more radical anti-slavery struggle) and a turn to a more privatized and experiential "parlor" version of sanctification, was nonetheless also a carrier of this theme. She was deeply involved with the "ladies of the mission" in transforming the "Old Brewery" into an inner-city mission that became the model for much Protestant urban ministry in New York City. Part of the explicit rationale for the adoption of the "campmeeting" in mid-nineteenth century was that it was a form adapted to maintaining contact with the "masses" that Methodism was perceived to be losing touch with. The Salvation Army is, of course, the epitome of this impulse and a continuing symbol of the churches' identification with the poor. Similar themes dominated the formation of late nineteenth century holiness churches. In early years many of these churches were little more than a loosely affiliated string of rescue missions in various American cities. The event that precipitated the founding of the Church of the Nazarene was the request of Phineas Bresee that he be "located" so that he could work with an inner city mission in the Los Angeles area while the Methodists were anxious to have his skills in building large churches. The founders of the Pilgrim Holiness Church were proud of the fact that they were willing to go into the "darkest jungles" as missionaries and into the heart of the cities as mission workers. The illustrations could be

multiplied indefinitely — as could the appeals to the fourth chapter of Luke so popular today in defending a “preferential option for the poor.”

This theme deserves further analysis. In the later era of the holiness movement the call to “preach good news to the poor” was especially attractive because of its pneumatological grounding in Luke 4.18 (“The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor”) and took primarily the form of evangelism — but an evangelism that breaks many of our stereotypes. While it was not a direct form of political and social action, it often led in that direction. The act of moving to be with the poor often led to a new awareness of their physical condition and often to a political radicalization. It is too easy today to over-look the radical side of even the temperance movement with its effort to transform the debilitating environment in which too many poor people were reared. And the tendency to see the Salvation Army today as illustrative of the forms of Christian “relief” that need to be transcended by direct political action fail to understand the broader political commitments of the Army in the profundity of its wholistic involvement and fail to grasp the radicality of its vision in its own time. Obviously these issues need fuller exploration than can be given here. My basic purpose at this point is to draw attention to a significant witness to a form of a biblically grounded “preferential option for the poor.”

(3) In view of the debates about the question in the churches today, it is perhaps worth noting the consistency with which the holiness movement has been committed to the ordination and the ministry of women. Again this practice was foreshadowed in Wesley’s time by his openness to a more informal ministry of women. Methodism in America struggled with the question throughout the nineteenth century but did not proceed with the full ordination of women until the middle of the twentieth century. It was, however, the holiness movement that competes with Unitarianism perhaps for the honor of first opening up the ordained ministry to women. It is amazing the number of events in the rise of feminism and the ministry of women that are associated with facets of the holiness movement; so much so that the history of this question will never be fully understood until this fact is taken into account — and much current historiography on this question is vitiated by its failure to do so.

The first woman to be ordained was Antoinette Brown, who though she later became a Unitarian was originally a follower of Finney and

educated at Oberlin College. Oberlin was the first co-educational college and for that reason educated many of the leaders of the nineteenth century feminist movement. The preacher of Antoinette Brown's ordination sermon was Luther Lee, a founder of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. The first Woman's Rights Convention in 1848 was held in the Wesleyan Church in Seneca Falls. Antoinette Brown was ordained in 1853 and the Wesleyans began to practice of ordaining women soon thereafter. B. T. Roberts, founder of the Free Methodist Church, wrote *Ordaining Women* (1891) and other defences of the practice, but his church did follow his advice until the mid-twentieth century. Many agitators for the ministry of women in other contexts, such as Frances Willard within the Methodist Episcopal Church, were persons who had fallen under the influence of the holiness movement during this period.

Historians have noticed the close linking of abolitionism and feminism in the nineteenth century and the civil rights movement and feminism in the twentieth. In the last century it was natural to extend the anti-slavery hermeneutic to women, and Galatians 3.18 seemed to provide an obvious rationale for doing so. The holiness commitment to abolitionism led many to take this path and defend in the antebellum period a strong doctrine of sexually equality that was supported by other holiness theological themes. While some traditions found in Genesis 3.16 a curse that prescriptively determined an inferior status of women for all time, the holiness movement was more inclined to see a description of the sinful state out of which we are being redeemed. As grace effects its transformation of persons and the world, women are restored to equality with men as the new "Eve." And even if Paul may be proved to have opposed the ministry of women (a doubtful claim in the first place to much of the holiness movement), grace is so much at work that this is not the same world, and what may have been inappropriate then might very well be appropriate now. And as has often been the case, the turn to religious experience in Methodism and the holiness movement proved to be a great leveller that took religious authority out of the hands of the privileged and the educated and put it in the hearts of those who respond to the grace of God.

This openness to the ministry of women was, if anything, radicalized by the holiness turn to pneumatological orientation in the late nineteenth century. After all, the account of Pentecost proclaimed that "in the latter days . . . your sons and your daughters shall prophesy."

And if one were not convinced by the antebellum arguments for the ministry of women, it was now clear that this new practice was a sign of the “latter day” outpouring of the Spirit of which the holiness movement was the harbinger. Very significantly Phoebe Palmer’s book, *The Promise of the Father* (1859) was both one of the first to fully adopt the pneumatological exposition of “entire sanctification” and also essentially a defense of the ministry of women — required, of course, by her own practice. We have indicated the impression that Phoebe Palmer made on Catherine Booth about this time, but one result was that the Salvation Army became arguably the most consistently egalitarian Christian organization to date. At any rate, with the rise of the pneumatological language came increasing commitment to the ministry of women — so that by the end of the century the practice was a hallmark of the movement. In some groups, such as the Church of the Nazarene and the Pilgrim Holiness Church, the percentage of women achieved was about one third earlier in this century. Interestingly enough, with the not unexpected decline of intense pneumatological focus and the twentieth century *embourgeoisement* and assimilation of the holiness churches to more traditional forms of church life, the ministry of women, while still largely accepted, has declined — though there is renewed commitment today to the practice as a hallmark of the holiness movement.

Other illustrations of the resulting social commitment of the holiness movement could be given, but these illustrations should suffice to indicate something of the subtle interaction of the Wesleyan soteriology and holiness pneumatology with these issues to produce, so it seems to me, a series of models of Christian social witness worth much more exploration.

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Reflections on Pneumatology in the Church of the Brethren Tradition

LAUREE HERSCH MEYER

We believe in the Holy Spirit . . .

CONTEMPORARY PNEUMATOLOGY DISCUSSIONS

SINCE 1927, ECUMENICAL CONVERSATIONS have been characterized by hope and tension. As communions opened our lives to one another and reached toward common understandings in our search for visible unity, we found our differences painful, indeed faithless. So we sought *common* understandings, guideposts to help us negotiate the rugged terrain which seemed to threaten our pilgrimage together.

Yet our effort to establish common understandings can also misserve us. Tension in ecumenical life is heightened when the *terms* of conversation are meaningful and appropriate for some communions, while being constrictive and alien to the center of other communions' life.

Its terms set the limits within which conversation is appropriate. So *how* we carry out discussions on pneumatology constitute the terms, the limits within which we are open to the Spirit about whom we speak in conversations about pneumatology.

In earlier days, often spoken of as the era of comparative ecclesiology, the Faith and Order movement made less effort to speak normatively than to come to know other Christians. More recently, and especially visible in drafting the current version of the *BEM* document, we have sought to formulate a normative text in which all

communions might find themselves, and about which all could confess that the text was both faithful and adequate.

Brethren believe we are today in an epoch where neither comparative ecclesiology nor normative texts adequately serve communions as members of Christ's living Body. Many contemporary Christian voices cannot be heard or understood from within our inherited perceptions. Brethren believe the sociological expression of Christology occurs when members of Christ's Body relinquish "our" place and open ourselves to the incarnate experience of others' places and contexts, to thought that seems alien or offensive to us.

Comparative ecclesiology and normative theology both address faith's *content*. Theologians embody our Christology in the decision how to engage one another. The choice to genuinely hear and come to know one another bears witness to conviction that we belong together and can identify commonality more basic than our division. The decision to sculpt a common content of faith bears witness to already agreed on presuppositions or contexts of faith. The choice to open ourselves to one another as radically diverse members of Christ's Body, bears witness that we receive and offer faith incarnately, content-in-context. As Christ-ian, incarnate con-ver-satio, we give ourselves to, receive, and enter one another's lives, turning together until satisfied.

The context we assume centers and limits any text. When speakers and hearers share one context, their similar contextual presuppositions co-interpret the words. Those with similar contexts rarely think about how their presuppositions co-interpret their confessions. But when those of different contexts come together to draft a text, dissent often lodges in the different significance identical words have in the drafters' varying contexts.

For generations, Anglo-academic theologians were in close enough conversation to have rather homogeneous presuppositions regarding the appropriate ways to inquire into and express faith. Not infrequently, theologians' inter-ecclesial and inter-national homogeneity was felt to be in painful tension with members of their particular ecclesial bodies. The ecclesial bodies' predominantly local context, while understood, was often felt to be restrictive and inappropriately limited. The "translocal" context of world communions, ecumenical life, and academic theological reflection seemed more faithful precisely in that it transcended the confines of particular faith expressions.

In both local and translocal contexts, most *public* voices were those

of free, white, Anglo men who owned property, were able to travel, and conversed with other public figures in the “foreign” contexts they visited; that is, “alien” public life was open to them and ideas informed by their “home” context were received seriously by others. In both local and translocal contexts, men were generally able to speak or even dissent openly on political, religious, or ethical matters without losing life or property. As public figures, such men were granted respect and a serious hearing when they spoke their minds. It is therefore hardly surprising that the Euro-North American ecclesial and academic male community shared similar theological perspectives. No less surprisingly, women, Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Africans, and others whose voices had never become part of this public life and conversation found it difficult to engage in ecumenical life in the terms of conversation basic to their contexts.

The Brethren Context

Children of the radical reformation, Brethren never recited creeds. The historical *filioque* debates were followed more with academic than confessional investment. As persecution of our forebearers was justified by citing creeds, Brethren radically embraced the reformation view of Scripture, stating that “we have no creed but the New Testament, our authority in all matters of faith and practice.” Brethren affirm the great ecumenical creeds’ content and value their place in forming and directing Christian faith. We would surely profit by their use in worship and Christian education, and may be ready for such a step.

Our existential concern for the Holy Spirit does not center in agreement over explicating the third article of the creed so much as in discerning how our various communions are enlivened by God’s Spirit. We see from the richness of Scripture and contemporary experience that the reality of God’s Holy Spirit exceeds what our explications embrace. We know God is not bound to our understandings. So when Brethren inquire into the work of God’s Spirit, we turn to Scripture to see how variously God has worked. Correspondingly, in contemporary faith life, we are more prone to trust embodied and confessional witness to the Holy Spirit than the analytic and conceptual statements about the Spirit.

Brethren identify as having pneumatological dimensions one matter often addressed as a concern for social justice or according to theological ontology. We believe God’s Holy Spirit calls all believers

into both the royal priesthood, and into the Church's ordained ministries. We consider it a basic theological matter whether Christian life is ordered by the affirmation that the Holy Spirit calls into the full range of its life and ministries all, or only some, as those created in God's image. We are not surprised to find conflict among believers on this matter in our day. In Paul's day, similar conflict surrounded the theological and ethical understandings of the ontological status granted Christians who ate meat and failed to practice circumcision.

We believe communions' formation and historical contexts effect our perception in such questions. The form of Christian confession is rooted in, while not identical with our theological anthropology, our socio-historical context. There is doubt about the public place of women (and males of color and non-European origin) as significant public, ecumenical voices in the Church's life and thought; it remains unclear whether the Church believes God's Spirit calls all *anthropoi* or only the males among *'adam* into its full public life and ministries.

Contemporary Conversations on Pneumatology

To address God's Spirit calls us to receive what God has in store for us: not to defend the coherence of what we believe, but to offer it to one another, opening ourselves beyond the limits of any communion's context, concepts, and understandings. God is the life and understanding of all Christians. We know we do not "capture" God's Spirit with texts, doctrines, teachings, and confessions. Yet in formation, ministry, and teaching, each communion needs and uses them all. Just as public ecumenical conversation yielded a shared context more able to draft a text acceptable and useful to all, so common texts useful to all communions will form local Christians with similar as well as disparate contexts. Common texts are basic as we seek to manifest Christ's unity in our life together. Indeed, our desire for trustworthy common texts leads us to offer one another the deeply particular texts which reflect our diverse contexts and often conflicting convictions.

Contextual variances among ecumenical voices may remind us that, and how, Christ is everywhere present. It is difficult to receive witness alien or perhaps offensive to us; it feels like an assault upon our faith. Like Jews and Gentiles who both confessed Jesus as God's Christ after Pentecost, we may find that some of our most cherished religious inheritance is a tutor *others* need not obey as we learn to

manifest unity in Christ Jesus.

In consultations on the apostolic faith, Christians seek more than simple agreement on a text; we seek mutual correspondence as members of Christ's Body. Then we shall be one. Inasmuch as *how* we discuss the apostolic faith embodies our confession; it "is" part of our documented faith.

Since Babel, humans are prone to seek unity in our own strength. God's answer then, and forever, is to call us into the promise of a fruitful, fulfilled, and fulfilling future amidst our fragmentation. God's promise of fulfillment is crowned in the last promise to Abram immediately following Babel: that Abram's descendents, Israel as a particular community of faith, shall be a blessing to all peoples. In Jesus Christ, Christians confess God's fulfillment of the promise of salvation to all creatures.

In order for God's whole people to speak together, we open ourselves to God's promise; we offer to one another as a blessing the rich inheritance each has been given, and we receive from others the blessing of fulfillment God gave them. We give thanks that this remembrance is our participation in the new covenant of Christ's Body, broken for us. And we look forward to God's life and salvation for each new generation and all creation, making one in Christ's risen Body all the peoples of God's earth.

The Contribution of Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ

This volume embodies meaning-filled conversation between communions long separated by history, context, and presuppositions. The *filioque* clause of the Nicene Creed, long a major church-dividing historical controversy, was addressed in such a way as to identify in what contexts Eastern and Western Christians understood that form of the creed each used. As a result, leaders of communions long placed under one another's anathemas now affirmed their common faith with those whose formal creedal content still differed.

This volume presents diverse creedal texts as living witnesses to the same Christian faith by attending to the content, history, and living confessions of differing traditions. When in earlier debates the historical perspectives of East *or* West defined the conversation, theologians moved to defend their particular faith expressions. Debate where each used, but did not engage, the terms of their content resulted in debates which pitted particular expressions of faith against one another.

The power of this volume is that, while the ancient church-dividing differences are sharply addressed, they are shown in context, and found to be less differences of faith than of faith's contextual presuppositions. *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ* shows how the teachings of both Eastern and Western Christianity were understood and received not as Truth, but as true witness to the Church's faith in their time and place.

That churches may overcome a historical chasm as deep as that over the *filioque* clause gives hope that other church-dividing matters, if addressed in the contexts which informed faith, may also lead us to deeper unity in the midst of our diversity.

In this hope, Blacks, women, Hispanics, the evangelical and free churches, peoples of Central and South America, of the Pacific, of Africa and Asia — all come to ecumenical conversation giving voice to experiences and expressions of faith whose terms only rarely define the perimeters of serious ecumenical conversation. Seen logically, confessional differences call for resolution into uniformity. But seen in faith's embodied contexts, differences may bear diverse witness in various places and ages to the same Lord.

CHURCH OF THE BRETHEREN REFLECTIONS ON THE HOLY SPIRIT

Introduction

Brethren have always searched scripture to measure our experience and direct our understanding on matters which concern us. More recently, we have become aware how carefully we attend to Christian voices from the Brethren tradition, and from other ecclesial traditions. Our awareness that the early Church wrote the New Testament, "our guide in matters of faith and practice," further heightens our awareness that, when we attend to Scripture, we are guided by both Scripture and tradition. Our enlarged terrain of faith is God's gift to us, given as the Church's ecumenical life has enriched us. Even so, we refer to it with words from our tradition, saying we listen with brothers and sisters in the faith to God's living voice addressing the whole household of faith throughout all ages and places.

Brethren have learned from Christian brothers and sisters in other communions, contexts, and ages that it is important to attend simultaneously to faith's content, context, and dynamics. Content, faith's expression of normative truth, may be experienced as "mere" dogma when it is disembodied from context. Context, the places in all ages

God indwells, may be viewed as “mere” phenomenon when addressed apart from faith’s content. Dynamics, God’s empowering presence, may be viewed as “mere” relationships when viewed apart from content and context. In discussions on the Holy Spirit, Christians may address only the content, context, or dynamics of God’s Spirit. But attention from any single perspective will truncate our understanding.

As Brethren characteristically look to Scripture to inform and illumine our understanding, I look broadly to Scripture to reflect as Brethren upon the Holy Spirit.

Biblical Witness to God’s Spirit

Less systematic than narrative, Scripture bears enormously diverse witness to God’s Spirit. Scripture records the Spirit’s actions more than understandings about it. I lift up three particularly characteristic expressions of God’s Spirit visible in the New Testament, in Hebrew Scripture, and in our communions today: God’s Spirit forms community; God’s Spirit enlivens community; God’s Spirit is the believing community’s truth and life.

God’s Spirit Forms Community

Paul attributes to God’s Spirit the creation into one community all peoples who believe in Jesus Christ: Jews and Gentiles, slave and free, male and female. Moreover, in Paul’s witness, God’s Spirit not only *creates* community; it also calls forth those persons (Paul, as a prime illustration) with the leadership gifts needed to form of those who believe in Jesus a church, a body of believers.

In Hebrew scripture God’s Spirit also creates community. So in its post-Jordan diversity, Yahweh’s Spirit “came upon” judges and prophets able to form Israel’s tribes into one people. Israel remembered this time when God gave it leaders able to create of many tribes one people as God’s fulfillment of the promise to Abraham that Israel would become a great nation.

In the understanding that God’s Spirit forms community, narrative accounts emphasize God’s activity and initiative which makes of diverse peoples one people of God. God-appointed leaders have a prominent place as midwives who help direct exclusive tribal or particular loyalties toward mutual loyalty to the same God. Communal doxology, liturgical celebration, and instruction in the faith are central to communal faith life, while rarely discussed in the texts characteristic of this terrain.

By analogy, churches today long for unity in Jesus Christ.

Communions nevertheless fear that we might not be led to fulfillment and salvation in God's Spirit, but alienated from God's heritage and promise which has been our life and truth from the beginning.

God's Spirit Enlivens Community

Central to Luke-Acts is an understanding that God's Spirit enlivens community. God's Spirit is that dynamic power by which God's people are empowered with new insight; the authority of God's Spirit directs radical personal and institutional change. Reduced from enlivening change to directive instruction in James, the Spirit's visible role is diminished even more in much non-canonical literature, until the community virtually measures its faith by its practice(s).

In Hebrew scripture, the understanding that God's Spirit gives life is particularly visible among the prophets. God's life-giving activity regularly calls for deeper congruence with, or radical change from, earlier expressions of faith. So Samuel resisted Israel's call for a king, yet was led by God to anoint both Saul and David. Even when desolate in exile, God's Spirit enlivened silent hearts to sing where they had been frozen with alienation.

God's Spirit as life-giving emphasizes God's creative activity able to re-form for changing contexts a people whose history and tradition led them to understand themselves as God's people. Narratives of empowerment and transformation which record the life-giving work of God's Spirit often bristle with awe and theophany.

By analogy, Christian communions who today seek visible unity, long to be enlivened as one, holy, catholic, and apostolic people of God. Communions confess that all are changed as unity becomes manifest; all will be transformed. We know *we* cannot do the Spirit's transforming work. Yet we who know "creation itself will be liberated from bondage" long for visible unity as God's people, as God's incarnate sign of renewal for all creation.

God's Spirit is the Believing Community's Truth and Life

John's gospel presents Jesus as God's Word, Life, Truth and Spirit. Believers abide in God by remembering Jesus. John's remembrance pneumatology is deeply akin to his Christology in that faithful communal memory mirrors that perfect union of human with divine life known in Jesus Christ. God's initiative is the basis on which God's people can remember Jesus Christ who, as God's life and truth for us, is also our life and truth with God. We remember and enact our communal identity and memory; we "wash one anothers' feet"; we

“eat bread and drink the cup” in remembrance of Jesus. In remembrance, we are restored to life; and Jesus’ Truth is extended to the next generation.

Similarly in Torah, as God “remembered” Israel and then went into action to call Moses to deliver Israel, so claims upon Israel’s obedient service and action are introduced by words of remembrance: liturgies recounting their identity as those who *have* life only as it stems from God’s claim upon and fulfillment of them. Likewise, whether traced through national kingship or messianic geneologies, salvation is assured through David’s line to all who remember from generation to generation that God is their life, even when nations fall and leaders fail.

This understanding of Spirit features God’s active, embodied presence in which the believing community is invited to “abide” that it may endure. The Spirit creates between God and God’s people the kind of union known in Jesus who was fully human and fully God. Believers whose life and truth *is* God, who remember and abide in God, live by or are indwelt by God’s Spirit. Such remembrance constitutes union with God, the result of which is a people internally and externally God’s own people.

The narratives surrounding this understanding direct believers’ attention to appropriate enactment of their memory: for example, the passover meal with sacrificial blood visibly smeared, its roasted meat eaten in haste with unleavened bread, and all leavings burned; or Jesus’ passover/last supper before crucifixion with various instructions regarding footwashing and bread and cup. The person and office of leaders fit to carry out the community’s memory are not directly addressed. But in Jewish, as in early Christian tradition alike, remembrance acts were carried out in household and intimate local gatherings. God’s Spirit as truth and life re-members us to life by redeeming life-threatening events such as Israel’s post-exodus experience of being no people, or abandoning our Lord to crucifixion, that what threatened us with death may bear us in life.

God’s Holy Spirit in Life Contexts

Scripture is clear that God is present with us in each life situation. From the beginning when God accompanied Adam and Eve from the garden, God seeks out, is present to, remains with, restores, and enlivens God’s people in whatever condition we find ourselves. We may know *about* God apart from awareness of our contexts and conditions. But in confessing that Jesus is God’s incarnate Messiah, we

confess that all human knowledge of God is incarnate; it reflects the form, condition, context, and limits of believers' lives.

We have our treasure in earthen vessels. Because God addresses believers incarnately, Christian understandings of God's Spirit reflect communions' diverse and enfleshed social fabrics. Our social, national, religious, political, economic, racial, gender, and ethnic expressions become enmeshed with our faith. We are prone to condemn as not-of-God what God did not give us. Throughout scripture and the life of the Church, we believers confuse our God-given treasure with the earthen vessels in which it is given us. And, as in scripture, believers today bear witness through our diverse contexts and experiences to the height and depth and breadth of the Holy Spirit's work among us.

In faith which celebrates God's life and work incarnately present among us, we are not surprised to find significant correspondence between an ecclesial tradition's socio-cultural experienced and its dominant understanding or doctrine of the Holy Spirit. (By "understanding," I refer to dynamics visible in the narratives people tell that show God's Spirit is their life. By "doctrine" I refer to concepts about God's action and "nature.") I want to explore tentatively how understandings of God's Spirit visible in scripture and communions today may correspond to traditions' socio-religious formation or experiential contexts. Several assumptions are present throughout:

In Scripture as in contemporary experience, the understanding that God's Spirit forms community has doxology as its center; the understanding of God's Spirit as enlivening community is concerned for right behavior, rightly embodied faith; and the understanding of God's Spirit as God's very truth and life calls us to rightly remember God's life for us through liturgy and teachings which have proven themselves life-giving.

All communions experience each of these understandings of God's Holy Spirit in our lives, even if our doctrinal explications about the Holy Spirit are at home primarily in one terrain.

1. *Doxology* characterizes the life of a faith community whose formation is rooted in celebrating God's life-giving it life. Doxological language may be examined to determine its orthodoxy, but believers life-context amid doxology is worship and praise. Faith-life primarily centered in doxology forms believers by leading them more to praise than to understand God.

Doxology loses its power if worshipers sense no vital connection between the liturgical drama of blessing and praise, and events of their daily existence. Doxology which fails to form Christians is more apt to be inert than idolatrous. Nevertheless, when Christians examine the content and object of doxology, we distinguish between doxology that is and is not faithful.

2. Emphasis on right *behavior* may result from faith's passion to embody doxology or as a corrective to "empty" words. Rooted in an understanding that God's Spirit enlivens community, concern for right behavior issues a call to conform personal life with God's words so believers embody what they confess. Believers are responsible to seek integrity between outward behavior and what is hidden in the heart. Experientially, "good" words or actions which contradict the spirit in us, is deadly. So those who murmured in the wilderness after making covenant with Yahweh were stricken, as were Ananias and Sapphira, whose words also misrepresented their hearts.

Concern to rightly embody God's Spirit tempts Christians to precisely identify right behavior: as in the *Haustafeln* and James. Teachings about right behavior, like the content of doxology, may be examined to see what faith is embodied. But assessing behavior provides no norms by which believers can separate those who do from those who do not belong to God. We recall the early Church's struggle to decide whether believers must be circumcised or would be permitted to eat meat offered to idols. Christians today face similar quandaries over behavioral questions. Contemporary "issues" debates remind us how deeply contextual is any explicit understanding of faith and heresy in this understanding of God's Spirit.

3. *Remembering* God's Spirit as our truth and life is basic to both doxology and right behavior. Israel knew, as John reminds Christians, that believers "become" one with whatever memory indwells us. We are literally re-minded, re-membered into the one who is our life. As we remember the Spirit of God, God's Spirit comes to and is the Spirit in us. As each generation "becomes" Israel by remembering Torah, we "become" Christian by continuously re-membering ourselves to Christ's life, truth, and way. Deeply theological in character, the experiential context for this pneumatology is embodied, interpreted liturgy which meaningfully illumines how God's life with and for us is present in all our human experiences.

As priests struggle with doxological irrelevance, as prophets and disciples struggle with idealized behavior, so theologians struggle with

conceptualized truth. Concerned to explicate and illumine right thought, thinkers may treat as a universal norm truth known enmeshed in context.

Contemporary and scriptural understandings of God's Holy Spirit are rooted in and illumined by communions' living contexts of faith. Christians respond to the work of God's Spirit today, as from earliest memory, in doxology, with responsible behavior, and learning who we are by remembering whose we are. Christians may consciously be guided more by one than another understanding of God's Spirit. Like God's people Israel, the apostolic Church, and the Church throughout all ages, we experience and find in our traditions various understandings of God's Holy Spirit. In ecclesial conversations on pneumatology, the content significance of statements is known in confessors' contexts. Thus how we address and receive one another both co-interprets our understanding of God's Holy Spirit and constitutes our openness to how God may answer our prayers for unity.

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dual loyalties and thus gave pagans the ammunition they needed to attack it. In spite of this weakness the book has great merit for a greater understanding of the complex society in which Chrysostom lived.

I enjoyed reading this book; it is first class scholarship. It is a full discussion on the background to Saint John Chrysostom's preaching against the Judaizers. The author brings many comparative statements from classical, biblical, and contemporary documents to illustrate the historical perspective of Chrysostom's writings. The book is historical, analytical, deeply insightful, and challenging to the modern reader. It is well written and on excellent paper making it easily readable. It is well documented, and includes an index and a bibliography which assists the reader in studying the subject further. The book is highly recommended to theologians and scholars for a greater understanding of the issues of the intense religious rivalry in the fourth century and a fresh look at Saint John Chrysostom.

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G.O.T.R. 31 (86).

Repentance: Themes in Orthodox Patristic Psychology. Volume 3. By Bishop Chrysostomos of Oreoi. Etna, CA.: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1986. Pp. 50. Paperbound, \$5.00.

Repentance is the third in a four-part series entitled *Themes in Orthodox Patristic Psychology*. Its position in the series is purposeful in that the repentant way of life needs the support of the virtues, especially humility and obedience (the topics of the earlier books in this series), for success. A *positive* study of spirituality from the psychological viewpoint is not uncommon within the Orthodox tradition; but it is somewhat unique in the West, in that psychology and spirituality are often perceived as inimical to each other or, at best, uneasy allies. Perhaps a partial explanation for this situation in the West is that our psychology did not develop from an intentional focus on man's psyche, as the word "psychology" would imply, but as a spin-off from the rationalistic philosophies of the late nineteenth century.

Unlike much of today's pastoral counseling literature, which attempts to couple spirituality and psychology into an often artificial

union, there is a lack of such awkwardness or of a need to shift one's mental set as Bishop Chrysostomos analyzes this most intimate of spiritual topics.

As with the earlier titles in this series, the author derives his inspiration from the desert Fathers and the reflection of their spirit in other Orthodox Fathers and contemporary saints. In the Introduction we review the Old Testament concept of repentance, as "a change of mind," and see how this notion continues into the New Testament as "man's departure from sin as a prerequisite for life in Christ." This concept of a "departure from one's old ways" is then followed through the writings of such great saints as Saint John Klimakos and Saint Gregory Palamas, who call repentance "the process of spiritual transformation." In modern times the same theme is shown to exist in the works of Elder Philotheos of Zervakos and Metropolitan Cyprian of Fili, who call us to "turn" from sin in the very same way as the ancient Israelites were called. Indeed, the author has readily demonstrated the catholic nature of the Church in his tracing of the development of repentance through the ages.

Next, two types of repentance are distinguished: initial repentance and the repentant way of life. Initial repentance is what usually comes to modern man's mind when he hears the word "repentance." Evangelical crusades would be one example of this type. Unfortunately, statistics show that this commitment is often short-lived, with the "convert" reverting to his old belief system in many cases. Three kinds of initial conversion experiences are described in the book: 1) direct intervention by God, 2) traumatic events in an individual's life, and 3) changes in thought or philosophy that bring us into contact with God. Examples from Scripture and the church Fathers are given to help clarify each of these approaches to repentance.

The author concludes his work with the second and necessary ingredient for true repentance, "the repentant way of life." He shows from the writings of the Fathers that we must learn to weep over our sins to perfect contrition and to regain our Christ-like nature. Monasticism is offered as the model of the repentant way of life. The layman can also practice the repentant way of life through acquiring the virtues of humility, love, and obedience. Again it is noted that these *are* the very virtues that Bishop Chrysostomos chose as the topics for the other three books in the series! The repentant way of life differs from a potentially short-lived, initial conversion in that it is "protected" by the healing balm of the harmonious interactions of the

virtues. Also, it is recommended that we maintain examples of holiness before us, such as Christ, the Theotokos, and the saints. This practice can assist us in wiping away the socially-learned responses to our bodies and passions. Once immersed in the life of repentance, we become more aware of sin and may reach the point of regretting sin even before it is committed.

Bishop Chrysostomos deserves our thanks for his clear and non-technical presentation of this rather subtle and, in modern times, misunderstood topic. We eagerly await the publication of the final book of the series, *Love*, for only then can true closure be given to our current topic, repentance.

Thomas Brecht
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G.O.T.R. 31 (86)

Spirit and Martyrdom. A Study of the Work of the Holy Spirit in Contexts of Persecution and Martyrdom in the New Testament and Early Christian Literature. By William C. Weinrich. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981. Pp. 320. Paperbound.

The great patristic scholar and Anglican bishop of the last century, J. B. Lightfoot, when commenting on the letter of Saint Ignatius of Antioch to the church in Rome concerning his impending martyrdom, wrote that for Saint Ignatius "the commencement of his sufferings [was] the inauguration of his discipleship . . . [which] would only be complete when his sufferings were crowned by his passion." In recent years, however, the concept of martyrdom has often been separated from the real theological issues of discipleship and Spirit-centered eschatology which surrounded it in both the New Testament and much of the extant Early Christian literature. A recent study of the phenomena of martyrdom and its relationship to the work of the Holy Spirit by William Weinrich (Associate Professor of Church History, Concordia Theological Seminary, Ft. Wayne, Indiana) seeks to renew this vital theological connection by means of a careful examination of the primary source materials.

Based upon Weinrich's doctoral thesis for the University of Basel, this volume seeks to determine the religious significance of suffering and death for and in the name of a religious cause in the early Judeo-Christian tradition. While there is a brief treatment of the

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and all those who are interested in the mystical theology of the Orthodox Church. Moreover, the book is extremely valuable for understanding the essence of Orthodoxy, especially the emphasis on the life in the Kingdom of God.

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Social Thought: Message of the Fathers of the Church. By Peter C. Phan. Vol. 20. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1984. Pp. 268. \$15.00, cloth; \$9.95, paper.

The present volume is an excellent compilation of patristic writings on the specific and timely topic of social issues. In his introduction Dr. Phan gives an analytical survey of the Christian social thought beginning with the Scriptures to the end of the patristic age. This is very helpful to the reader.

The book is well thought out and includes all the Fathers of the Church, both East and West, who wrote on social issues. It is divided into seven sections that are sub-divided into particular patristic schools or Fathers. These are as follows: "Early Christian Fathers," which includes the Apostolic Fathers, the Didache, Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Letter to Diognetos, Shepherd of Hermes, the Apologists, and that of Justin Martyr and Irenaeus of Lyons. The third century Fathers from the School of Alexandria include: Clement of Alexandria, Origen; the African writers, Tertulian, Cyprian of Carthage and Lactantius. The "Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature" is represented by Eusebius of Caesarea, Hosius of Cordova, and the Cappadocian Fathers: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and Gregory of Nyssa. Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Augustine of Hippo each merit a separate section in the book. The "Golden Age of Latin Patristic Fathers" includes Ambrose of Milan, Jerome, Leo the Great, and Gregory the Great.

The present volume is like a small encyclopedia containing a brief biographical sketch of each Father and his major work, and an excerpt from his writings.

It is interesting to note that the Fathers struggled with many social issues that plague the contemporary Church: issues such as the relation of "Church and State," concern for the hungry, the right

to private and common property, money and interest as well as freedom and slavery. It is worth noting that the Fathers of both East and West are in harmony in their opinion of these social issues.

The Fathers address the issue of wealth and the consensus is that attachment to earthly riches is a sin, whereas proper use of money brings salvation, giving as example the "Rich man and Lazaros." They emphasize that all God's creation is common and all things must be shared by all human beings. The Platonic idea that "all things must be in common including wives" is rejected by the Fathers who state that "all things are God's and all must be shared, but the wives are not 'property' or 'things' to be shared." The Fathers strongly urge all Christians to give alms and care for the poor and the hungry. "Usury" was strongly condemned by the Fathers as "robbing" the poor. The Fathers defended freedom and liberty as the gift of God, but most of them tolerated slavery in imitation of Saint Paul who recommended humane and Christian treatment of slaves. The only Father who outright condemns slavery is Gregory of Nyssa who considers man as God's image and consequently slavery as opposed to the dignity of freedom of all human beings. To those who purchased human beings, he asks how much does one pay for life, human nature, God's image, and reason? The following quote illustrates Nyssa's radical view, for that period, against slavery:

Now, tell me, who is the one who buys, who is the one who sells the one who is God's image, who must rule over the earth, who has received from God the dominion over all that exists on earth as heritage? Such a power belongs to God alone and may I say, not even to God. "God never takes back his gifts or revokes his choice," says the Apostle [Rm 11.29]. Let no one think, therefore, that God wants to reduce us back to slavery, when, as we were voluntarily slaves to sin, he has called us anew to freedom [p. 128].

Father Phan, who teaches systematic theology at the University of Dallas, has compiled a very useful collection of patristic writings on social concerns thus making these patristic ideas accessible to all in an intelligible and unified way.

I highly recommend this book to clergy, seminary students, and to lay people for spiritual edification and personal instruction.

George C. Papademetriou
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

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virtues. Also, it is recommended that we maintain examples of holiness before us, such as Christ, the Theotokos, and the saints. This practice can assist us in wiping away the socially-learned responses to our bodies and passions. Once immersed in the life of repentance, we become more aware of sin and may reach the point of regretting sin even before it is committed.

Bishop Chrysostomos deserves our thanks for his clear and non-technical presentation of this rather subtle and, in modern times, misunderstood topic. We eagerly await the publication of the final book of the series, *Love*, for only then can true closure be given to our current topic, repentance.

Thomas Brecht
Birmingham, Alabama

G.O.T.R. 31 (86)

Spirit and Martyrdom. A Study of the Work of the Holy Spirit in Contexts of Persecution and Martyrdom in the New Testament and Early Christian Literature. By William C. Weinrich. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981. Pp. 320. Paperbound.

The great patristic scholar and Anglican bishop of the last century, J. B. Lightfoot, when commenting on the letter of Saint Ignatius of Antioch to the church in Rome concerning his impending martyrdom, wrote that for Saint Ignatius "the commencement of his sufferings [was] the inauguration of his discipleship . . . [which] would only be complete when his sufferings were crowned by his passion." In recent years, however, the concept of martyrdom has often been separated from the real theological issues of discipleship and Spirit-centered eschatology which surrounded it in both the New Testament and much of the extant Early Christian literature. A recent study of the phenomena of martyrdom and its relationship to the work of the Holy Spirit by William Weinrich (Associate Professor of Church History, Concordia Theological Seminary, Ft. Wayne, Indiana) seeks to renew this vital theological connection by means of a careful examination of the primary source materials.

Based upon Weinrich's doctoral thesis for the University of Basel, this volume seeks to determine the religious significance of suffering and death for and in the name of a religious cause in the early Judeo-Christian tradition. While there is a brief treatment of the

inter-testamental period which focuses upon the religious struggles and "martyr narratives" of the Macabees, the strength of Weinrich's study is most apparent in his treatment of New Testament materials, the writings of Saint Ignatius of Antioch, and other select martyrologies of the early Church. Weinrich concludes his treatment of primary sources with a brief examination of the martyrological content of the writings of Tertullian, which, although very interesting, especially in the context of the Holy Spirit, seems the weakest portion of this otherwise very fine study.

The object of the author in this study is to establish "How . . . the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the suffering of the disciples [is] to be understood" (p. xii). Weinrich uses the formative studies of Karl Holl and Marx Lods as foil and counterpoint for his own particular viewpoint. Actually, Weinrich is able in this volume to go beyond Holl and Lods in many areas and to establish that the nature of Christian martyrdom does indeed go beyond the mere "observation that the martyr was conceived to be an especial bearer of the Spirit" (p. xiii) and by critical evaluations of primary source materials establishes the links between Christian martyrdom and ecclesiology, and, more importantly still, Christian martyrdom and Christology. Weinrich is most successful in this task in his treatment of Saint Ignatius and the Martyrdom of Polycarp. In his examination of Ignatius, Weinrich draws out the connective between the impending martyrdom of the saint, the saint's union with the Father, the resulting unity of the Church this is to foster, and the eucharistic nature of the Christian community of faith (pp. 134ff.). A similar analysis of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* comes to the conclusion that "martyrdom is an ecclesial event, for through remembrance of the martyr the Christian community faithfully trains itself for future struggles" (p. 175). All of this, needless to say, is based upon Weinrich's approach to the Holy Spirit working in and through the community of faith (in the main) and his subtle aversion to spontaneous or, in modern terms, *charismatic* work of the Paraclete. Given this presupposition, however, Weinrich draws the reader through a varied and rich world of Christian martyrdom and explains its impact in precise theological terms.

The purpose of this volume, again originally written as a doctoral thesis, is as a learned treatise on a very specialized point of New Testament and patristics study. In the main, apart from sidestepping issues of authorship, etc., Weinrich accomplishes his purpose in an admirable and learned way. His notes are full and expansive, providing future

scholars with a great mine of information. While at times the writing style is labored and somewhat tedious, as one would expect in a thesis of this sort, Weinrich's main points nevertheless come through clearly and succinctly. For any student of the New Testament or the Fathers, this volume will be a welcomed addition to the field.

Duane W. H. Arnold
University of Detroit

G.O.T.R. 31 (86).

Story Theology. By Terrence W. Tilley. Theology and Life Series, 12. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1985. Pp. 242.

In his recent book, Terrence Tilley joins a host of other writers—George Aichele, James Barr, Michael Goldberg, Richard Lischer, and R. W. L. Moberly to mention only a few—who have recently focused on the relationship of stories and theology. The thesis of this book is that stories are more than illustrations for Sunday sermons and more than mere decorations to be variously employed in the life of faith. In fact, Tilley boldly asserts “that without the stories of Christianity, there could be no Christianity” (p. xvii). Tilley is certainly correct that the current interest in narrative theology is not simply the latest fad; it is, as Robert McAfee Brown tell us in the Introduction, as old as the Faith itself.

What unique contributions does Tilley make? His book shifts the emphasis from propositional theology (which explores, elucidates, and describes the doctrines of Christianity) to Christian narrative theology (which transforms the stories of the Bible themselves). The primary task is to “uncover the stories which show what the Christian key-words mean” (p. 11). The focus is not on the doctrines of the Christian tradition but on the narratives which form and inform the tradition. If propositional theologians suppose that narrative kernels are dispensable portraits of religious faith, narrative theologians seek to uncover the structures of the stories in establishing meaning.

According to Tilley, narrative theology must also function to creatively transform the narratives of tradition. It is a new story which ensures that a religious tradition will be made vibrant in a new context. Rather than re-casting old propositions into new systems, Tilley urges theologians to follow the example of Richard P. McBrien and

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There is no doubt that Father Dragas has contributed substantially and successfully to one of the most difficult subjects of patristic tradition and thought. He appears to know his sources and is most able to convey to us the profound message of patristic theology. Although the lecturing style can be detected, nevertheless, we have at hand a most useful book from the pen of an excellent theologian.

George S. Bebis

Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

G.O.T.R. 31 (86).

St. Savvas the New. Volume 8 in *Modern Orthodox Saints*, By Constantine Cavarinos. Belmont, MA.: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1985. Pp. 144. Cloth, \$8.95.

Professor Cavarinos has had a distinguished career, represented by his writings in classical philosophy, American philosophy, Greek letters, Byzantine thought, art, theology, Orthodox studies, and Orthodox hagiography. His works are in both Greek and English, in which he has both fluency and a charming style and, in translation, in other languages. His scholarly productivity, from the Bowen prizes which he won for his philosophical writings while studying at Harvard to his present study in Orthodox theological thought, has brought him and his books to the attention of a wide scholarly readership and of general readers, too. I mention all of this so that there is no possibility that one might misunderstand my following comment, to wit, that this author does not receive the attention that he deserves from the scholarly community. However distinguished his career, however eminent his stand among Orthodox scholars, the fact is that his books call for an acclaim of rather momentous proportion. But then, again, perhaps this is not best for the man.

If there is a single series in Orthodox hagiography in the English language that one could call indispensable, it is Cavarinos' eight-volume series on contemporary Orthodox saints, beginning with a volume on Saint Kosmas Aitolos, the "Father" of modern Greek saints. Like their author, these volumes have received abundant acclaim, critical attention of a positive kind, and enthusiastic praise from the Orthodox faithful. But again, as with the author himself, I do not

find the books receiving the attention that should be given to them. Actually, unless one speaks Greek, I do not think that an Orthodox believer in this country can claim any knowledge whatsoever of the modern Greek Church, if these volumes are not on a shelf side-by-side with Holy Scripture, the few Fathers that we have in English, practical spiritual books, and liturgical texts.

In my introduction to *The Ancient Fathers of the Desert* (Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1980), I pointed out that one must learn of Orthodoxy in a methodical way—a process of learning that is the responsibility of *every* Orthodox Christian. I counted the *Evergetinos*, from which my aphorisms of the desert Fathers are drawn, as one of the basic steps in climbing the spiritual ladder of Orthodox education. Yet, even if I stress the importance of these volumes and dedicate not a little time and effort to their preparation, I must in all truth emphasize that Dr. Cavarinos' series on the modern Greek saints is an absolute prerequisite for my own volumes. One does not step onto the rung of the ladder until he has first firmly planted his feet on the ground: the saints of the Church are the very ground in our ascent into Orthodox knowledge.

In the eighth volume of this series, Cavarinos presents us with the life and works of a remarkable and simple holy man of recent times, Saint Savvas the New, who reposed in 1948 and whose incorrupt and fragrant relics were disinterred as late as 1957. At his repose—something noteworthy for us Old Calendar zealots—one of the nuns present at his deathbed saw his soul ascend into the heavenly choirs, chanting “in a most sweet voice, ‘Announce, O earth, great joy’ ” (p. 78). It was the eve of the Annunciation of the Theotokos by the Julian Calendar, and those churches following the Old Calendar were celebrating this great feast of the Virgin, whom he so revered. The saint's repose simply sums up a simple, humble life which was, indeed, a sweet melody among the believers—a life simply, reverently, and piously portrayed by Professor Cavarinos. The works of the saint, no more than two pages, handwritten, on the correct virtues in the monastic, adorn the book, as though they were an exclamation point to a quiet life that indeed needs to be revealed and loudly proclaimed for the sake of the faithful.

At the end of this handsomely-produced volume, which nicely matches the preceding seven volumes, Cavarinos includes a number

of the icons painted by Saint Savvas, mostly on the island of Kalymnos, where he served as a renowned confessor, but at least one of them was painted in the convent served by Saint Nektarios on the island of Aegina, where Savvas lived one year with him and spoke of the saint's sanctity. These icons, while produced at a time that the Greek and other national Orthodox churches had abandoned the proper Byzantine style for the art of the Italian Renaissance, nonetheless contain a sublime element reminiscent of the Orthodox style. That Professor Cavarnos recognizes this and eloquently comments on it is extremely important. Too often, I am afraid, those who call for a return to the fullness of tradition—and this is a valid call that must be heard—do so in such a way that they deny the action of God's grace in the Church at all times, even at times of apparent decline or deviation from the perfect spiritual standard attained in the Byzantine Church. We see in a modern saint, living in modern times, painting in a modern way, the same *inner* depths that we see in our saints throughout the ages, if simply because God does not abandon those who hold to the Faith. While this cannot justify innovators and those who so openly deviate from the standards of Orthodoxy in these days, it is a fact that we must acknowledge, in any stand that we take in the name of the restoration of tradition, that, to be sure, we are not really *restoring* tradition, which never dies and is never failing, but simply *restoring* it to its fullness.

Pay attention to the present book and to this series. This is my advice to the reader. I am not, as those who know my book reviews know, given much to hyperbole—or at least to positive hyperbole. I am not impressed by scholarship that forgets spirituality. Nor do I think that spirituality is ever genuine unless it is based on thought, study, and reflection. When I recommend the following book, as well as its preceding volumes, then, I do so with great seriousness. This book is indispensable, as are many of Cavarnos' other writings. This is Orthodox scholarship at its best and we should all use it as a model. Though the author is a friend, he is not beyond my criticism. Therefore, I do not praise his work because of our friendship, but I consider him a friend because of his work. I advise the reader to make his books their friends.

Bishop Chrysostomos
Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies

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scholars with a great mine of information. While at times the writing style is labored and somewhat tedious, as one would expect in a thesis of this sort, Weinrich's main points nevertheless come through clearly and succinctly. For any student of the New Testament or the Fathers, this volume will be a welcomed addition to the field.

Duane W. H. Arnold
University of Detroit

G.O.T.R. 31 (86).

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What unique contributions does Tilley make? His book shifts the emphasis from propositional theology (which explores, elucidates, and describes the doctrines of Christianity) to Christian narrative theology (which transforms the stories of the Bible themselves). The primary task is to “uncover the stories which show what the Christian key-words mean” (p. 11). The focus is not on the doctrines of the Christian tradition but on the narratives which form and inform the tradition. If propositional theologians suppose that narrative kernels are dispensable portraits of religious faith, narrative theologians seek to uncover the structures of the stories in establishing meaning.

According to Tilley, narrative theology must also function to creatively transform the narratives of tradition. It is a new story which ensures that a religious tradition will be made vibrant in a new context. Rather than re-casting old propositions into new systems, Tilley urges theologians to follow the example of Richard P. McBrien and

John McQuarrie: they should tell new stories.

The final task of Christian narrative theology is "to proclaim and manifest the Good News" (p. 15). Theologians must articulate this news by telling and living a story of Christ. After a brief chapter on the shape of stories, Tilley focuses mainly on stories told by and about Jesus. At the end of each of the chapters one finds a helpful annotated reading list. This is a valuable part of the book because it directs the interested reader to additional works which can only be mentioned in this overview.

With the exception of a few comments on the story of Creation, Tilley's argument rests wholly on New Testament material. One can hardly help asking why Tilley practically ignores the Old Testament witness which comprises two-thirds of every Christian theologian's Bible. Additionally, it is the Old Testament which contains numerous stories, certainly more than what is found in the New Testament corpus. Tilley is certainly correct in describing an approach which subordinates doctrine to the stories themselves as "a truly fresh approach to Christian theologizing" (p. xvii), but why does this new approach neglect a major part of the Bible where stories are ubiquitous? Tilley may have been less sanguine about the possibility of story language if he had noted that major portions of the Bible (Levitical laws, some Wisdom literature, Pauline epistles, for example) do not tell a story.

Despite these weaknesses, Tilley has provided a book which is well-researched and provocative. The author's lucid style and artistry make the book enjoyable.

Kenneth M. Craig, Jr.
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

G.O.T.R. 31 (86).

Symeon the New Theologian, the Practical and Theological Chapters and the Three Theological Discourses. Trans. with an Introduction by Paul McGuckin, C.P. Cistercian Studies Series: Number 41. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1982. Pp. 144. Cloth, \$17.95.

Saint Symeon the New Theologian has recently become very popular in Western theological literature. The massive increase of charismatics, pentecostals, and the apparent emphasis on the life of the Spirit by so-called reborn Christians brought about an additional

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of these men serve, to elect them as recipients, in the spring of 1986, of the Center's Licentiate in Orthodox Theological Studies *honoris causa*, an honor bestowed on only one other person in the five-year history of the Center.

This book is essentially a compendium of the works of Dr. Cavarinos, containing reviews of his major publications (which include, to date, an astounding thirty-four books, countless articles, and numerous reviews). The importance of this book is that it fills a need: that of guiding the student or scholar in investigating the voluminous writings of this prolific man of letters. I have myself experience great frustration in trying to compile a collection of Cavarinos' writings, since, like those of Father Georges Florovsky, they are extraordinarily diverse and appear in literally a dozen different journals, in the case of articles, and cover a wide array of subjects, with regard to books. As a solution to this problem of searching out materials, Dr. Rexine has brought together materials under four major sections: philosophical works; works on Orthodox Christian art, life, and thought; and volumes on modern Orthodox saints. A very useful bibliography of Cavarinos' writings appears in the back of the book (p. 163).

I heartily recommend this book to anyone who knows Cavarinos' work. It is an essential reference tool. As for those who do not know all of the writings of this scholar, the book is a proverbial "must." As I have noted, the book is handsome. It is flawed only by a few typographical errors. As a tribute to a man who has excelled in letters, who has published important and celebrated volumes in both Greek and English, and who has stood firm in his dedication to the faith and culture of his Greek heritage, all Orthodox and all Greek-Americans should especially treasure this book.

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
Etna, California

The Deification of Man: St. Gregory Palamas and the Orthodox Tradition. By Georgios I. Mantzaridis. Trans. from the Greek by Liadain Sherrard. Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984. Pp. 137. Paper.

The present work by Professor Mantzaridis was originally published in Greek in 1963. I read the original text many years ago as

I was working on aspects of Saint Gregory Palamas' theology. I am especially enthusiastic about this volume being translated into English for the benefit of non-Greek speaking Orthodox Christians and interested scholars.

The concept *theosis*, or deification, can easily be misunderstood because of the Oriental philosophical and theological implications that could be read into it. The word "theosis" sometimes is translated as "divinization" which may give one the wrong impression of Orthodox Christianity. Professor Mantzaridis, in a scholarly manner, gives the proper explanation of the theological understanding of deification. He emphasizes the *theosis*, or deification, properly understood in the eschatological and ineffable communion with Christ and the divine energies. It is the participation of the believer in the Kingdom of God. It is the experience and communion of the uncreated light that Christ revealed to his apostles on Mount Tabor. It is not an ontological participation in the uncreated nature of God as is the case with the Oriental religions. It is rather a moral or ethical union with God's uncreated energies in the present, earthly life.

Palamas as a theologian has been misunderstood by Western theologians who mistakenly attribute to Palamas the notion that man's participation in the divine energies would mean union with God's essence. But, as Professor Mantzaridis explains, Palamas makes a real distinction between the essence and energies of God. Western, medieval philosophical views of identifying the attributes of God with his essence precludes any human created nature to be united with God, though Orthodoxy and Palamas teach that it is not possible for created nature to participate in the divine essence even in the state of beatification. Palamas rejected the scholastic teaching of the beatific vision of the divine essence. Latin scholasticism teaches that human beings are able to attain vision, but not the comprehension of the divine essence in the state of saintliness or eschatological holiness.

Mantzaridis clarifies the Orthodox, Palamite doctrine of the human participation in the divine energies. The present volume is divided into the following chapters: "The Foundation of the Teaching of Man's Deification," "The Sacramental and Ecclesiological Nature of Deification," "The Moral Aspect of Deification," "The Mystical Nature of Deification," and "The Consummation of Deification." The book contains adequate documentation of primary and secondary sources and a useful bibliography.

This work is important to Orthodox and non-Orthodox scholars,

and all those who are interested in the mystical theology of the Orthodox Church. Moreover, the book is extremely valuable for understanding the essence of Orthodoxy, especially the emphasis on the life in the Kingdom of God.

George C. Papademetriou
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

Social Thought: Message of the Fathers of the Church. By Peter C. Phan. Vol. 20. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1984. Pp. 268. \$15.00, cloth; \$9.95, paper.

The present volume is an excellent compilation of patristic writings on the specific and timely topic of social issues. In his introduction Dr. Phan gives an analytical survey of the Christian social thought beginning with the Scriptures to the end of the patristic age. This is very helpful to the reader.

The book is well thought out and includes all the Fathers of the Church, both East and West, who wrote on social issues. It is divided into seven sections that are sub-divided into particular patristic schools or Fathers. These are as follows: "Early Christian Fathers," which includes the Apostolic Fathers, the Didache, Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Letter to Diognetos, Shepherd of Hermes, the Apologists, and that of Justin Martyr and Irenaeus of Lyons. The third century Fathers from the School of Alexandria include: Clement of Alexandria, Origen; the African writers, Tertulian, Cyprian of Carthage and Lactantius. The "Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature" is represented by Eusebius of Caesarea, Hosius of Cordova, and the Cappadocian Fathers: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and Gregory of Nyssa. Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Augustine of Hippo each merit a separate section in the book. The "Golden Age of Latin Patristic Fathers" includes Ambrose of Milan, Jerome, Leo the Great, and Gregory the Great.

The present volume is like a small encyclopedia containing a brief biographical sketch of each Father and his major work, and an excerpt from his writings.

It is interesting to note that the Fathers struggled with many social issues that plague the contemporary Church: issues such as the relation of "Church and State," concern for the hungry, the right

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MANTZARIDIS, GEORGIOS I., *The Deification of Man: St Gregory Palamas and the Orthodox Tradition*; translated from the Greek by Liadain Sherrard, with a Foreword by Bishop Kallistos Ware, (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984), 137 pp.

Nowhere is history more important for grasping and understanding theological issues still separating the minds and hearts of the Christian East from the Christian West than the controversy in which St Gregory Palamas (1296-1359) defended the Monks of Mount Athos against accusations of Messalianism brought by Barlaam of Calabria (1290-1350), another Orthodox Monk who had come to fame in Constantinople as a scholar and a philosopher. The controversy raged during the years 1334-1347, and it was then that Gregory Palamas composed his *Triads for the Defense of the Holy Hesychasts*. Two teachings are especially associated with his name and this controversy, the fact that the Christian ascetic can be so gripped by the knowledge of God's immediate presence which is experienced, even sensibly, as *Thaboric Light* in the mystery of Grace, and the distinction between God's Uncreated *Nature* and His Uncreated *Energies*. Highly theoretical questions then debated in Constantinople, Thessalonika (of which city Gregory became Archbishop), and Mount Athos (where Gregory had lived the monastic life) are important today when the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church have newly discovered themselves to be Sister Churches still separated by differing understandings of the Gospel truth.

The theological truth about God and man which Gregory struggled to express in this conflict, as tempestuous and pivotal as it was and remains still, is very well presented in the work of Professor Mantzaridis' *The Deification of Man*.

The book introduces the reader to a different and sometimes difficult theological language. To speak of the Grace of God is never easy. Not to speak of the Grace of God is to betray the Gospel. The effort needed to understand the words of this book and to grasp the truth of their meaning makes its own demands. The reader will be thrown back upon theology once learned. That theological vision will be enriched, however, as the reader grows in the freedom to be grasped by the vision which comes to light in this new language. Without abandoning critical theological sense, the struggle of this book can only enrich one's comprehension of the mystery of life which is human in the measure that it participates in the life of God.

This study of Gregory Palamas' teaching on Grace, on the believer's *divinization*, begins, as must every study of this extra-

ordinary mystery of divine love, in the biblical teaching: "God created man in his image; in the divine image He created him; male and female He created them" (Gn 1:27), which finds a later echo: "When God created man, He made him in the likeness of God; He created them male and female. When they were created, He blessed them and named them 'man'" (Gn 5:1-2). The Old Testament seems not to perceive the dense meaning of these words of Genesis which, thanks to the Incarnation of the Word of God, the New Testament sees. St Paul will write: "He is the image of the Invisible God, the first-born of all creation" (Col 1:15). Jesus is the new Adam to whom all are to be conformed. This *being conformed* and *being configured* to Christ—as image to archetype—knits together the biblical and patristic teaching on Grace. Everything which relates to the regeneration of the human heart and the holiness of human striving flows from the power of divine mercy operative in the heart. In Christ, God reveals Himself to be the Father, who, having called the human creature into being, has given him His Son and, after Christ entered His Glory, sends the Holy Spirit whom Jesus had promised. By the active presence of the Three Divine Persons in the heart of the one who believes and in the communion of believers which forms the Church, there comes about a real transformation of the human heart, an assimilation to Christ's way of existing. This transformation and assimilation occurs by knowing and loving, not *something* about God, some truth other than God, but by the knowing and loving which touches immediately, even as it is touched and transformed by the very reality of God. How this happens is the subject of the study of Grace which, in the tradition of the Fathers, finds expression in the aphorism of St Irenaeus: "The Word became what we are so that we become what He is."¹

Created in the image and likeness of God, the human person is made of body and soul. The human is neither an angel nor a pure spirit. Human being exists in matter and spirit. And this composite being will finally discover the fullness of its being in the direct vision of God. Only then, when all yearning of the enfleshed spiritual being is complete, will we experience incorruption and immortality.

Palamas remained faithful to the tradition which discovered its roots in the teaching of the New Testament and was held firmly by the tradition of Eastern Theology. "For the Holy Spirit possesses life in Himself, and those who participate in Him will live in a god-

¹St Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, V, praef. III, 18, 1 and III, 19, 1; PG 7, 1120; 932 and 939, ff.

like manner, having attained a divine and heavenly form of life. For the glory of the divine nature is above all divine life in the saints and their participation in every blessing."² After discussing the foundations of Palamas' theology of our divinization, Professor Mantzaridis gives attention, in subsequent chapters, to the Sacramental and Ecclesiological nature of Deification: its Moral Aspect, its Mystical Experience and its Consummation in the Resurrection and the "Face to Face" vision of God.

There are two areas of difficulty which always need to be kept in mind if we are to understand Gregory's contribution to the Theology of Grace. The first relates to St Augustine's influence in the theology of the West, the other concerns the Palamite distinction between the Uncreated Divine Essence and the Uncreated Divine Energies. Each of these major areas of difficulty focuses in its own way upon the central question: how can God, who is beyond all human comprehending, be present in the knowledge of the believer who knows Him? How can the One who is beyond all human defining be grasped and not be confined in and by human knowing?

The seriousness of the question can be seen in what L. Malevez has written about the knowledge which the Mother of God and the Saints have of God—understood in the West as the "Beatific Vision"—and the knowledge which faith communicates to the mind and heart of the believer. In relation to the Blessed, he writes: "Unless the Three Persons [of the Blessed Trinity], even as they are distinct, become present 'intentionally' to the Blessed as intelligible form preliminary to vision, they could not be seen and loved *as they are in themselves*." And then, in relation to what is known by the believer in faith, he writes: ". . . we cannot forget that the earthly and temporal order of faith really—ontologically—inaugurates the heavenly realm to which it orders us; that which is true of the heavenly realm as the end of Christian life is and must be true of its real beginning, of its presence in promise."³ If one were to contend that a created thing, whether it stands forth in the created order we experience or comes to be through human thinking and striving, can directly convey what God is, such a person would necessarily hold that creation and the things that we do are divine.

²G. Palamas, *Answer to Akindynos*, 2, 7, 18, in P. Khrestou, ed., *Palama Syggrammata*, Thessaloniki, 3 vols., 1962-1970, quoted here as *Works* 3, p. 98; G. Mantzaridis, *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

³L. Malevez, "L'existence chrétienne dans sa relation à l'Esprit," in *Ecclesia a Spiritu Sancto edocata* . . . *Hommage à Mgr. Gérard Phillips* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1970), p. 131.

This is the problem which the western theology of *created grace* presents to many a theologian of the Eastern Church. To speak of grace as if it were a created reality seems to say either that the indwelling of the Three Divine Persons in the heart of the believer is unreal or that some created thing is divine.

The difficulty rooted in the problem of misunderstanding becomes more often than not an accusation of insufficiency against the Western Tradition's theology of grace. Professor Mantzaridis writes, relative to the accusations which Barlaam brought against Palamas:

The teaching of the anti-hesychasts and the Latins on the salvation of man through the created grace of God, conflicting as it did with the fundamental patristic tenet according to which the regeneration and deification of man are not brought about by created means, formed the main target of Palamas' attack. The Spirit of God, he says, accomplishes man's deification by means of the energy and grace natural to Him, and not created by means or through His own essence [*Answer to Akindynos* 5, 24, 96, *Works* 3, p. 359]. The energy of the Holy Spirit, though it differs from the divine essence, is not separated from it; on the contrary, it brings man into union with God [*Theophanes*, PG 150, 940C; *Natural Chapters* 108, PG 150, 1193D. See also *Demonstrative Discourse* 2, 10, *Works* 1, p. 86].⁴

Relative to such a statement, a western theologian needs to trace the roots of his own tradition. To do this is to realize how large a task it is to overcome great misunderstandings. To study but two examples of Western Theology, St Bonaventure and St Thomas, is to realize that the introduction of the term *created* in relation to the Mystery of Divine Grace arose during the Thirteenth Century from the anxiety in the West to preserve two facets of the Mystery: (a) the immediacy of the Union of the divine persons with the believer, and (b) the particularly western need to affirm human freedom and to avoid the suspicion of Pelagianism.

In his *Breviloquium* St Bonaventure wrote:

Again, to enjoy God means to possess Him. Hence, together with grace which, by its God-conforming nature, leads to the enjoyment [*fruitio*] of God, there is given to

⁴G. I. Mantzaridis, *The Deification of Man*, pp. 35-36.

man an uncreated Gift, the Holy Spirit, to possess whom is indeed to possess God Himself.

But he who possesses God must in turn be possessed by Him in a special way; and he who possesses and is possessed by God must love and be loved by Him particularly and uniquely, as one spouse loves and is loved by the other; and he who is loved must be adopted as a child entitled to an eternal inheritance. Therefore, sanctifying grace make the soul the temple of God, the bride of Christ, and the daughter of the eternal Father. And since this cannot be wrought except through a supremely gracious condescension on the part of God, it could not be brought about through some habit naturally implanted, but only through a free gift divinely infused; as clearly appears if we consider what it means to be God's temple and His child, and to be joined to Him as though in wedlock by the bond of love and grace.⁵

The reasons for Bonaventure's thinking may be briefly summed up in the following considerations. The teaching of Scripture is clear, one has but to examine Rom 5:5. There is also the Johannine teaching about unity: "... I living in them, you living in me—that their unity may be complete" (Jn 17:23). Here Bonaventure takes up an Augustinian theme relative to the unity of the Church. The Holy Spirit is the First Love and the First Gift of God in whom are contained all others. The Unity of the Church, of the Body of Christ, can find its simple and absolute form only in and through God's uncreated unity. Created reality is diverse, separate and variable. The members of the Church are individual human beings who can become perfectly one only if their unity is in and by one and the same Being who, as principle, brings about a unity of persons unique in its kind because there is in each individual, in and by the gift of Grace, the presence of One, the uncreated Spirit of God, who alone can enter without violating the human heart.⁶ In his *The Soul's Journey into God*, Bonaventure describes the human creature being *made new* by Grace. He writes: "Filled with all these intellectual illuminations, our mind like the house of God is in-

⁵St Bonaventure, *Breviloquium*, V, 4-5 (Opera 214 b), in J. DeVinck (tr), *The Works of St Bonaventure: The Breviloquium* (Paterson: St Anthony Guild Press, 1963), p. 183.

⁶St Bonaventure, I Sent, d.14, a.2, q.1, f.4 (Opera 249 a); cf. St Augustine, *De Trinitate*, V, 15, 16.

habited by divine Wisdom; it is *made* a daughter of God, His spouse and friend; it is *made* a member of Christ *the Head, His sister and coheir*; it is *made* a temple of the Holy Spirit, grounded in faith, built up by hope and dedicated to God by holiness of mind and body. All of this is accomplished by a most sincere love of Christ which is poured forth in our hearts by the Holy Spirit who has been given to us, without whom we cannot know the secret things of God."⁷

To speak of something *created* in connection with the Mystery of Grace is to speak about what happens to the creature because of the self-disclosing movement in love by the Divine Persons towards the human creature. It is the human creature who is changed by the presence of God in the Mystery of Grace. St Thomas would tersely write: ". . . Grace is said to be created in the sense that by grace human creatures are created, i.e., constituted in new being, and this *ex nihilo*, which is to say not from their own merits."⁸ Nor is grace considered as some thing—some prize or reward—bestowed upon the deserving man. In response to the question: "Whether grace places something in the soul?" Thomas speaks of a "certain something coming from God in the human being" (*quiddam supernaturale in homine a Deo proveniens*), a qualification of the human person whereby one is drawn by and moved to the eternal Good who is God.⁹

In the thinking of Bonaventure and Thomas the movement of Grace is from God. Thomas writes: "The Father has done everything in His Son; and the Spirit, who is the love in whom the Father loves the Son, is also the love in whom He loves the creature bringing perfection to them."¹⁰ The procession of the Holy Spirit in time is with the infusion of the habit of grace, the concept of which includes the uncreated Gift, the Person of the Holy Spirit. This "new creation," this "created grace," speaks of a relationship in which the human person is enabled to receive the Gift of God, the Holy Spirit, in the power of His coming. Thomas speaks of the Gifts of

⁷St Bonaventure, *The Soul's Journey into God*, tr. E. Cousins (New York: Paulist Press [Classics of Western Spirituality], 1978), p. 93. Cf. *The Breviloquium*, I, 5 (214 a), DeVinck, p. 50: "Indwelling indicates a spiritual effect and the acceptance of it, as is the case with sanctifying grace which partakes of the life of God, leads back to God, makes God to possess us and be possessed by us, and through this also to dwell within us. And since the effect of grace comes from all three Persons, the indwelling is not of one Person without the others, but of the whole Trinity together."

⁸St Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, I-II, q.110, a.3, ad 2.

⁹St Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, I-II, q.110, a.2, resp.

¹⁰St Thomas, *In I Sent.*, d.14, q.1, a.1, sol.

the Spirit by which the just are able to rejoice in the Divine Persons.¹¹ For his part, Bonaventure would rather speak, not of our possessing God, but of actions which, as responsive to the initiative of divine goodness, lead us to God.

This digression should not distract from the richness of Professor Mantzaridis' work. A theological term originally crafted to defend against Pelagianism and assure the comprehension of divine grace as God's immediate presence to the renewed human creature became uprooted by the passage of time. The soil in which the notion germinated and grew changed: *created grace*—in the arguments of the Nominalists and the controversies of the Protestant Reform—became identified with Pelagian self-sufficiency. Many still perceive it to be so, and the challenge to explain it highlights the crisis in understanding which accompanies every description of a theological position to another tradition. And, as the East often fails to grasp the original intent of the term "Created Grace," in a parallel way the West has failed to grasp what the Eastern Tradition seeks both to affirm and to deny by speaking of the "Uncreated Divine Energies."

Professor J.D. Zizioulas has recently described the 'essence' and 'energy' distinction and dialectic in the following terms:

. . . the distinction between "essence" and "energy" in God—a classical topic in Orthodox theology since Palamas—significantly enough goes back to the Cappadocians, i.e. to those who developed and stressed more than any of the ancient Fathers, the distinction between *theologia* and *oikonomia*. It is, therefore, nothing else essentially, but a device created by the Greek Fathers to safeguard the absolute transcendence of God without alienating Him from the world: the Economy must not be understood as implying a loss of God's transcendence, an abolition of *all* difference between the immanent and the economic Trinity; at the same time God's transcendence must be understood as a *true* involvement of the very being in God in creation. "Energy," by being *uncreated*, involves in history and creation the very being of God; yet by being distinct from God's "essence" it allows for God's immanent being to be "incomprehensible" and truly *beyond* history and creation.¹²

¹¹St Thomas, *In I Sent.*, d.14, q.2, a.2.

¹²J.D. Zizioulas, "The Teaching of the 2nd Ecumenical Council on the

The transcendent God remains transcendent even as He communicates Himself to the creature able to receive Him. John Meyendorff warns against imagining, in the distinction between essence and energy, a divinity inferior to God. He cites Palamas: "That which is manifest, that which makes itself accessible to intellection or participation, is not a part of God, for God is not thus subject to partition for our benefit; complete he manifests himself and does not manifest himself, complete he is conceived and is inconceivable by the intelligence, complete he is shared and is imparticipable."¹³

The subject which Professor Mantzaridis treats is dense. It is not, however, confusing for the reader whose understanding of the Mystery of Grace took shape in the Western world and from the West's need to affirm what the human creature may accomplish in relation to God. To discover a new vision can be dazzling and intoxicating. At a moment when the term 'personalism' controls so many aspects of our thinking, Mantzaridis' *The Deification of Man* leads the attentive reader to grasp with new realization the marvelous goodness of God who has called us into being, so that we, by the Incarnation of His Son and in His Gift of the Holy Spirit, may share in the fullness of Trinitarian Life. The final sentence of Bishop Kallistos' *Foreword* bears repeating here: "From the pages of Professor Mantzaridis' book, St Gregory Palamas speaks to us as a Father of the Church with a creative message for our own time."

—Gerald M. Dolan, OFM

The Correspondence of Leo, Metropolitan of Synada and Syncellus.

Greek text, translation and commentary by Martha Pollard Vinson. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Washington, DC, 1985, XV+143 pp. \$16.50.

This new addition to the series of *Dumbarton Oaks Texts* (VIII) is also volume XXIII of the international series of the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*. It contains the correspondence of a tenth-century Byzantine bishop and diplomat, who was

Holy Spirit in Historical and Ecumenical Perspective," in *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, Atti del Congresso teologico Internazionale de Pneumatologia, Roma*, Vol. I, p. 29-54.

¹³Gregory Palamas, "On Participation to God," in J. Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974), p. 214.

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The Filioque: Dogma, Theologoumenon or Error?

THEODORE STYLIANOPOULOS,

THE THEOLOGICAL DEMANDS of the ecumenical movement are currently leading ecclesial-minded theologians to a fresh examination of the *filioque*, one of the long-standing doctrinal controversies dividing the Eastern and Western churches. The publication of *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*,¹ featuring a substantial memorandum of two consultations held at Schloss Klingenthal, France (1978 and 1979) and also excellent papers presented at those consultations by Orthodox, Protestant, and Roman Catholic theologians is a preeminent ecumenical expression of the new interest in the *filioque*, the Nicene Creed and related topics. Some of the key questions in the *filioque* discussion are the following: Is the *filioque* a dogma binding upon all Christians who seek unity on the basis of the one, catholic and apostolic faith? Is it a *theologoumenon*, that is, a valid but optional interpretation of Christian dogma? Or is it a doctrinal error that should be corrected? Moreover, how is the *filioque* related to the faith of the New Testament and to Christian life? In this paper I would like briefly to address some of these questions as pursued by the contributors to the above publication in the following three sections: (1) historical and theological presuppositions, (2) evaluating the *filioque*, and (3) the relevance of the *filioque* question.

HISTORICAL AND THEOLOGICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS

Any serious discussion of the *filioque* immediately raises a number

¹ Edited by Lukas Vischer (London and Geneva, 1981).

of related broader issues of considerable complexity. First, there is the whole question of the development of Christian doctrine² and the need to be extremely sensitive to context. If one is to appreciate the significance of the *filioque* question and not merely dismiss it as an exercise in sterile theologizing, as Dietrich Ritschl observes, "one must let one's thought sink into the classical trinitarian modes of argumentation,"³ or, in the words of the Klingenthal Memorandum, "we should retrace and follow through the cognitive process of the early Church"⁴ (meaning the ancient catholic Church and not only the early New Testament Church). In the instance of the *filioque* one must distinguish but not separate the following: (a) the history of the actual controversy beginning in the seventh century with Maximus the Confessor's attempt to provide, for Easterners, an acceptable interpretation of the *filioque* in the face of obvious anxieties about it (a dating earlier than that of Ritschl who points to the later refutations of the *filioque* by John of Damascus and Photios as the beginnings of the controversy); (b) the explicit teaching of the *filioque* developed by Augustine who is the intellectual father of the *filioque* and whether this teaching is consistent or inconsistent with the trinitarian dogma of the First and Second Ecumenical Synods, and (c) the earlier Christian teaching about the Holy Spirit not yet nuanced by the theological questions generated by the Arian heresy.

Because the *filioque* involves both historical and systematic aspects,⁵ only the most careful attention to the intentionality, nuances, and terminology of various historical and theological contexts can assure proper sailing through these deep waters. Extreme care is needed to pursue analysis and synthesis, to trace continuity and discontinuity, and above all to discern consistency or inconsistency in the development of doctrine pertaining to the Holy Spirit during many

²For clarity's sake I may indicate that by "development of doctrine" I mean neither that the reality of the Holy Spirit changes from generation to generation nor that the experience of the Spirit is necessarily richer among later generations. Rather I mean that the conceptual formulations about the truth of the Spirit are modified and the relevant terminology is refined in the light of various factors, questions, and controversies over centuries.

³"Historical Development and the Implications of the Filioque Controversy," *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, p. 46.

⁴Memorandum, "The Filioque Clause in Ecumenical Perspective," *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, p. 7.

⁵See Ritschl, p. 48.

centuries of Christian theologizing. Ritschl importantly cautions that adequate grounding of the *filioque* could never rely on isolated passages in a few Greek Fathers but must be based on a wide examination of the trinitarian theologies of the Latin and Greek traditions.⁶ Furthermore, if Ritschl is right that Tertullian is not, as is often supposed by Western theologians, a "crown witness" for later filioquism in its proper meaning, and that the originator of the *filioque* teaching is Augustine, whose more distinctly philosophical questions led him by necessity to develop the *filioque*,⁷ then Augustine would seem to stand in isolated and questionable light as an interpreter of the Second Synod's article on the Holy Spirit, a point that John Romanides has been making for years.⁸

On the other hand, Jean-Miguel Garrigues' attempt to dissociate the *filioque* formula from its Augustinian or other later Western contexts in order to propose that only the dogmatic formula affirmed by the magisterium requires acceptance, not the interpretations, since interpretations can be further both clarified and modified until sufficient agreement is reached,⁹ seems to be a superficial attempt at a resolution of the controversy. While doxological expressions of faith can and often do seek adequate interpretations, officially either to promulgate or to hold to a dogmatic formula which has no identifiable meaning received by the community of faith would be literally meaningless. The *filioque* can no more be divorced from its classic interpretations than the Nicene Creed can be divorced from the theology of the Greek Fathers, chiefly Athanasios and the Cappadocians, presupposed by the First and Second Ecumenical Synods. If the case were otherwise, the community of faith would have no criteria by which to receive dogmatic formulae except blind obedience to council or magisterium claiming inspiration without explanation.

No doubt the most crucial question is the systematic one, the is, the question pertaining to theological truth. Is the *filioque* consistent with the early Church's teaching about the Holy Spirit and

⁶ Ibid., pp. 53-54.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 59-61.

⁸ See, for example, his article "The Filioque," *Kleronomia*, 7 (1975), especially pp. 295ff. John Romanides is an Orthodox member of the Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission.

⁹ "A Roman Catholic View of the Position now Reached in the Question of the *Filioque*," *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, pp. 148-53.

consistent with the meaning of the Nicene Creed? Quite curious to this writer is Ritschl's comment that the *filioque* "controversy itself is more of church-historical than of theological significance,"¹⁰ a comment which seems to run counter to the spirit of his whole essay concerned as it is with theological truth. Did not Photios' emphasis that the Spirit proceeds "from the Father *alone*" intend to preclude the Western position that the Son is also somehow a *cause* in the eternal procession of the Spirit from the Father? And did not the *filioque* controversy center on the question of the correct theological interpretation of the earlier patristic tradition and above all of the Nicene Creed? Similarly the Anglican consideration to remove the *filioque* from the Creed but at the same time to continue to affirm its theological value as a complementary Western understanding of the Holy Trinity,¹¹ while welcome, essentially depends on whether or not the *filioque* is at least consistent with dogmatic truth as officially promulgated by the ecumenical synods. Neither the *filioque* formula nor the interpretations in support of it or against it can be regarded as *theologoumena*, as some would have it, unless they can be clearly shown at least not to be opposed to early Christian doctrine and the Nicene Creed. *Theologoumena* cannot contradict promulgated dogmatic truth for otherwise, as Dumitru Staniloae pointedly observes, "it would be impossible to tell the difference between a *theologoumenon* and an error."¹²

Another broad issue presupposed by the *filioque* discussion is that of the nature of Christian theology and its relationship both to biblical revelation and to the experience of salvation. The Klingenthal Memorandum, following accents by contributors to *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, especially by Ritschl,¹³ stresses that early Christian theology is doxological rather than speculative; it is based on historical

¹⁰Ritschl, p. 61.

¹¹Donald M. Allchin, "The Filioque Clause: An Anglican Approach," *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, pp. 85-87. Allchin reports the official proposal to the Anglican Church by the Anglican membership of the Anglican-Orthodox Doctrinal Commission. He himself seems critical of the implications of the *filioque*. See pp. 95-96.

¹²"The Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and His Relation to the Son, as the Basis of our Deification and Adoption," *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, p. 175.

¹³Ritschl, pp. 64-65.

revelation rather than abstract definitions.¹⁴ According to this Memorandum ancient Christian thought concerning the Trinity does not derive from a preconceived trinitarian concept but reflects "the biblical and historical roots of Christian faith in the living God,"¹⁵ personally revealed as Father and Creator, as unique Son and eternal Logos, and as sanctifying and renewing Spirit. If this presupposition regarding the nature of early Christian theology applies fundamentally to all trinitarian theology and is to be held consciously, as many would concur, then our efforts toward resolving the *filioque* controversy would have a far greater chance to bear fruit if they are concentrated on careful interpretation of the intentionalities of the biblical and patristic witness, and also on rigorous linking of our theologizing to Christian life, rather than seeking to provide additional speculative solutions to the *filioque* problem as if theologians had direct epistemological access to the ontology of the triune God.¹⁶

In the context of the fourth-century patristic theology it is fair to say that Augustine's trinitarian thought is more speculative, that is, more permeated by a spirit of philosophical inquiry, than that of Athanasios and the Cappadocians. Of course it is not a question of sharp contrasts, namely, that Augustine is philosophical whereas the Eastern Fathers are biblical, because all hold to Scripture as ultimate authority, employ discursive reason and feature philosophical terms and notions such as essence, hypostasis, immutability, time and eternity. The crucial difference seems to be that, despite his own repeated reservations, Augustine seems to try to explain the Trinity as a metaphysical problem; he thinks that he could possibly explain the matter of the generation of the Son and the manner of the procession of the Spirit in rational terms, and he presents his thought as a kind of tentative personal speculation about the Trinity anchored on the security of the Church's dogma which he unreservedly

¹⁴Memorandum, pp. 6-10.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁶A brilliant suggestion and an example of this kind of speculative solution, it seems to me, is Jürgen Moltmann's proposal that "the Holy Spirit receives from the Father his own perfect divine existence (*hypostasis*, *hyparxis*), and obtains from the Son his relational form (*eidos*, *prosōpon*)," "Theological Proposals Toward the Resolution of the Filioque Controversy," *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, p. 169.

accepts.¹⁷ By appreciable contrast Athanasios and the Cappadocians write about the Trinity in terms of the immediate challenge of various forms of Arianism; they are concerned about defending the uncreated nature of the Son and the Spirit deriving from the very being of God, as they see these truths affirmed by the witness of the Bible and the worship of the Church, and they argue for both the unity and distinctiveness of the persons of the triune God on the basis of Scripture and liturgical tradition, while remaining extremely sensitive to the inability of reason to probe divine ontology.¹⁸ These differences in theological approach signal, at least for many Orthodox theologians, tremendous implications regarding the way of Western theology and the way of Eastern theology, implications which are deeply involved in both the origins of the *filioque* in Augustine as well as the *filioque* controversy during subsequent centuries.

Through a short study of the article on the Holy Spirit in the Nicene Creed a few years ago this writer was amazed to confirm for himself the closeness between the biblical and Greek patristic witness regarding the Holy Spirit and his relationship to the Father and the Son.¹⁹ In the writings of Athanasios, Basil, and Gregory the Theologian, not only the terminology but also the deep soteriological interests seeking to show *that the Spirit is what he does*²⁰ are thoroughly biblical. Once the authority of the biblical witness regarding

¹⁷*On the Trinity* 15.2.5, 22-24 and 28. See further Theodore Stylianopoulos, "The Orthodox Position," *Conflicts about the Holy Spirit*, ed. Hans Küng and Jürgen Moltmann (New York, 1979), pp. 26-27.

¹⁸Gregory the Theologian, for example, radicalizes Plato's famous dictum about the difficulty of knowing God (*Timaeus* 28E) by saying: "But in my opinion it is impossible to express him [God], and yet more impossible to conceive him" (*Theological Orations* 2.4). Gregory also writes that "the divine nature cannot be apprehended by human reason" (*Theological Orations* 2.11) and that "it is one thing to be persuaded of the existence of a thing, and quite another to know what it is" (*Theological Orations* 2.5). As far as seeking to explain the nature of the hypostatic attributes of unbegottenness, generation, and procession, Gregory comments this would be a matter of frenzy (*Theological Orations* 5.8).

¹⁹Theodore Stylianopoulos, "The Biblical Background of the Article on the Holy Spirit in the Constantinopolitan Creed," *Etudes théologiques 2: Le IIe Concile oecuménique* (Chambésy-Geneve: Centre orthodoxe du Patriarcat oecuménique, 1982), pp. 155-73.

²⁰See Gregory the Theologian, *Theological Orations* 5.29.

the Trinity is accepted on a descriptive level, as presupposed by these Fathers (and not as that witness might be evaluated by biblical scholars today), then one could hardly ask for a more biblically cogent defense of the "evangelical faith."²¹ Readers will suffer a citation from the conclusion of the above study:

In the trinitarian debates at stake was not an abstract question but the truth of Christian salvation: the fundamental understanding of the living God in his relationship to creation, historical revelation, ecclesial life and daily Christian existence. The decisive criteria were biblical: (1) the radical difference between Creator and creatures and (2) the principle that God creates, redeems, and renews his creatures by his personal presence and action. The doctrine of the Trinity was formulated on soteriological rather than philosophical grounds.²²

Thus, when Western theologians continue to talk in various ways and nuances about how biblical thought is "functional" and "developmental," whereas Greek patristic thought is "philosophical" and "substantialist," that the trinitarian and christological teaching of the great synods is determined by Greek philosophy rather than the Bible, and that therefore Greek patristic thought and the Nicene Creed can today more or less be dismissed as outdated,²³ they sound, at least to this writer, as tiresome as they are unconvincing. Would such theologians also dismiss the authority of the biblical witness? What theology was for the Greek Fathers, the ecumenical synods, and the way of Eastern Christianity is expressed by Jaroslav Pelikan's ringing statement: "Theology was not a science of divine ontology but

²¹To use the telling expression of the Synodal Letter of 382 which states that the Fathers of the Second Synod (381) endured persecutions, afflictions, and other pressures by heretics and kings for the sake of "the evangelical faith."

²²Stylianopoulos, "Biblical Background of the Article on the Holy Spirit," p. 171.

²³See, for example, the opinions both reviewed and expressed by Warren A. Quanbeck, "Developmental Perspective and the Doctrine of the Spirit," *The Holy Spirit in the Life of the Church*, ed. Paul D. Opsahl (Minneapolis, 1978), pp. 158-71 and also Olaf Hansen, "Spirit Christology: A Way out of Our Dilemma?" in the same volume, pp. 172-203.

of divine revelation.”²⁴ It should be noted that the contributors to *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, as specialists, show great sensitivity to these matters. All would agree that the *filioque* and patristic trinitarian theology confront us not with the challenge of philosophical inquiry but rather, as Lukas Vischer puts it, with the crucial question of “how we are to speak of God on the basis of the revelation in Christ.”²⁵

A final broad issue involved in the *filioque* discussion is ecclesiological, that is to say, having to do with the critical issue of the nature of authority and decision-making in the Church. Granted that all would hold to the authority of Scripture, what about the authority of the early Church which over several centuries gradually gathered and canonized Scripture? More specifically, what role should the authority of the First and Second Ecumenical Synods as expressions of universal ecclesial decision-making play in the *filioque* discussion? After all, the *filioque* clause was added to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, an act which raises not only questions of canonical authority but also of theological consistency. One can not take lightly an addition to the Nicene Creed in which key words and expressions were forged on the anvil of decades of nuanced theological debate. Can a clause deriving from one theological tradition simply be inserted in a creed deriving from another theological tradition without council? I would like here to pursue a little further not the canonical but the theological aspect of this ecclesiological issue of authority.

The concern about continuity and discontinuity, consistency and inconsistency, pertaining to theological truth in the history of doctrine has already been mentioned. The thesis has also been asserted that Athanasios and the Cappadocians show intimate affinities with the biblical witness regarding the understanding of the Spirit and

²⁴Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition 2: The Spirit of Eastern Christendom* (Chicago, 1974), p. 33. See, also, more recently, the emphases on John Zizioulas, “The Teaching of the Second Ecumenical Council on the Holy Spirit in Historical and Ecumenical Perspective,” *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum: atti del Congresso teologico internazionale di pneumatologia, Roma, 22-26 marzo 1982* (Vatican, 1983), who writes that “the use of *homoousios* by Athanasios and Nicea was not intended to create a speculative or metaphysical theology,” p. 32, and that the personal and relational understanding of the Trinity as *persons* by the Cappadocians was a “revolution” in Greek ontology, p. 36.

²⁵Preface, *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, p. vi.

the Spirit's relationship to the Father and the Son. But now I must, as well, firmly state that in at least two important ways these Greek Fathers differ from the biblical witness by reason of the new historical and theological context generated by Arianism: (1) they show a far more pronounced ontological interest pertaining to the nature of God because they had directly to face the ontological question of uncreated and created being sharply raised by Arianism, and (2) they developed the clear position that the Spirit is a distinct uncreated divine being, and not only the uncreated divine power or energy of God, with supportive *but not conclusive* evidence from the New Testament. Regarding the first difference I assume that the New Testament, especially the witness of John and Paul, surely testify to ontological interests respecting the Father and the Son, and I assume also that, as a matter of theological principle, an ontological question is not illegitimate simply because it is ontological, whatever the possibilities of dealing with such a question. Regarding the second difference I can only here say that this represents my own exegetical judgment in good faith and I can also cite the good company of Gregory the Theologian who honestly recognized that the eternal subsistence of the Spirit as a distinct divine being cannot, strictly speaking, be demonstrated by means of grammatical exegesis of the biblical texts.²⁶

If there are, then, important differences between the biblical and patristic witness on such central matters, what authority is finally to judge whether these differences are legitimate or not in the development of doctrine, whether or not they are consistent with the biblical witness, and therefore whether a new position is true or false? Gregory the Theologian writes that in his days:

of the wise men among ourselves, some have conceived of him [the Spirit] as an activity, some as a creature, some as God; and some have been uncertain which to call him, out of reverence of Scripture, they say, as though it did not make the matter clear either way.²⁷

²⁶See, further, Stylianopoulos, "Biblical Background," pp. 164-69, and also William G. Rusch, "The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Patristic and Medieval Church," in *The Holy Spirit in the Life of the Church*, p. 77, who notes Gregory's "embarrassment" by the lack of clarity of Scripture on this question and his consequent theory of progression in the revelation of the Father (OT), the Son (NT), and Spirit (Church).

²⁷*Theological Orations* 5.5.

Unquestionably Gregory himself, along with Athanasios, Basil, and others, took a definite position on this theological issue based on what they considered the most cogent exegetical, soteriological, and ontological arguments and this position was upheld by the Second Synod as an authoritative expression of ecclesial experience of the Spirit. In other words, the hermeneutical issue unsolved in the debates of theologians about the nature and activities of the Spirit found official settlement by conciliar authority. This is to say that the new creative step taken by the Greek Fathers in opposition to Arianism, and approved by the Second Synod, represents no less than a new hermeneutical commitment by the historic Church regarding the Holy Spirit as a distinct uncreated being, the implications of which are of considerable magnitude. Thus the significance of the Nicene Creed lies not only in that it is a historic summary of the faith of the Bible but also in that it is an authoritative interpretation of the biblical witness by the universal Church.

With respect to the *filioque* clause the implications of the above paragraphs lead to two related affirmations. First, Eastern objections to the *filioque* which are based on the trinitarian dogma of the First and Second Synods, and the theology which is presupposed by them, cannot be conclusively answered by reference to the biblical witness because the biblical witness is not sufficiently nuanced to provide such answers. To be sure, Orthodox theologians would fully agree that the New Testament testifies to the intimate mutuality and reciprocity between Father, Son, and Spirit, and also that Christ is equally the bearer and the sender of the Spirit. Although agreement on these truths is of basic significance, the specific meaning of terminology such as "temporal mission," "eternal procession," "hypostatic properties," and "immanent" and "economic" Trinity cannot be fully elucidated, much less conclusively evaluated as the Klingenthal Memorandum seems somewhat to suppose,²⁸ by reference to the biblical witness. Thus, perhaps by an irony of history, while to Western theologians the *filioque* may well reflect biblical teaching about the intimacy of the Son and the Spirit, and also about the Son's prerogative both to possess and to send forth the Spirit—truths which Orthodox theologians themselves advocate—nevertheless the *filioque* as a doctrinal formula, from an Eastern perspective, runs counter to the nuances of fourth-century conciliar theology.

²⁸Memorandum, pp. 8-9.

Secondly, the *filioque* clause, whatever its Western history and interpretations, if it is to be acceptable to Orthodox, must be modified or at least authoritatively interpreted in terms that are not in conflict with the intentionality of the Nicene Creed. Because the *filioque* was added to the Nicene Creed we must ask whether or not it sits well within it, whether or not its meaning is consistent with that of the Nicene Creed. But the meaning of the Nicene Creed itself cannot be ascertained apart from the trinitarian controversy of the fourth century and especially apart from the chief theological witnesses which stand behind it, namely, Athanasios, Basil, and Gregory the Theologian. We lack other decisive criteria by which to evaluate the Nicene Creed and, consequently, the *filioque* as an addition to that Creed. The Memorandum asks a rhetorical question which is incisive:

Is it possible that the *filioque*, or certain understanding of it, may have been understandable and indeed helpful in their essential intention in the context of particular theological debates [in the West], and yet inadequate as articulations of a full or balanced doctrine of the Trinity?²⁹

An Orthodox might easily answer yes if by “a full or balanced doctrine of the Trinity” is meant a doctrine anchored on the trinitarian commitments of the historic Church through its ecumenical synods. Thus the ecclesial authority of the ecumenical synods as well as the ecclesial authority of conciliar theology reflected in the writings of Athanasios and the Cappadocians are at the forefront of the *filioque* discussion.

EVALUATING THE *FILIOQUE*

The fourth and most substantive section of the Klingenthal Memorandum, entitled “Theological aspects of the *filioque*,” evaluates in a fair and insightful manner the intrinsic issues involved in the *filioque* question. On the one hand it affirms the positive intent of the *filioque*, as interpreted by Western theologians, namely, to uphold the consubstantiality of the Trinity and to express the biblical teaching that the Spirit is also the Spirit of the Son. The Memorandum powerfully insists on the closest possible relations between Son and Spirit, and so between the generation of the Son and

²⁹Ibid., p. 10.

the procession of the Spirit, on the unassailable grounds that the Holy Spirit "*only proceeds from the Father as the Father is also Father of the Son*" (emphasis is the Memorandum's).³⁰

On the other hand the Memorandum equally affirms "the uniqueness of the Father, as the sole principle (ἀρχή), source (πηγή), and cause (αἰτία) of divinity,"³¹ a trinitarian truth of decisive importance for the Eastern tradition. It perceptively points out that Photios' famous formula, "the Spirit proceeds from the Father *alone*," intends not to deny the intimate relations between the generation of the Son and the procession of the Spirit, but only to make utterly explicit that the Father *alone causes* the existence of both the Son and the Spirit, conferring upon them all his being, attributes, and powers, except his hypostatic property, i.e., that he is the Father, the unbegotten, the source, origin, and cause of divinity. The Memorandum recognizes that the persons of the triune God who is both unity and threefoldness must not be confused in a modalistic fashion. With regard to the origin of the Spirit the Memorandum therefore states: "The Spirit who is not a 'second Son,' proceeds in his own unique and absolutely originated way from the Father who, as Father, is in relation to the Son."³²

On the basis of the above main points, then, the Memorandum sets down a truly revolutionary ecumenical proposal containing two parts, one negative and one positive:

First, it should not be said that the Spirit proceeds "from the Father and the Son," for this would efface the difference in his relationship to the Father and to the Son. *Second, it should be said* that the procession of the Spirit from the Father presupposes the relationship existing within the Trinity between the Father and the Son, for the Son is eternally in and with the Father, and the Father is never without the Son (emphases are the Memorandum's).³³

Having thus proposed the setting aside of the *filioque* ("it should not be said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father *and* the Son"),

³⁰Ibid., p. 13.

³¹Ibid., p. 11.

³²Ibid., p. 13.

³³Ibid., p. 15.

just as in the end it clearly recommends the setting aside of the *filioque* clause by the churches, the Memorandum then completes its proposal by offering a choice of the following formulae in the place of the *filioque*, a list which is not necessarily closed:

- the Spirit proceeds from the Father of the Son;
- the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son;
- the Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son;
- the Spirit proceeds from the Father and rests on the Son;
- the Spirit proceeds from the Father and shines out through the Son.³⁴

The amazing degree to which Orthodox theologians can accept the above proposal, as well as virtually all of the above alternate formulae, may be verified by Dumitru Staniloae's valuable contribution to *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*.³⁵ Engaging mainly Garrigues' conciliatory article in the same volume, Staniloae, who is one of the eminent Orthodox theologians of the twentieth century, not only accepts the correctness of Garrigues' own proposed formula of conciliation ("I believe in the Holy Spirit who goes forth from the one only Father insofar as he begets the only Son")³⁶ but also states that "the Father causes the Spirit to proceed from himself in order to communicate him to his Son, in order to be more united with the Son by the Spirit."³⁷ As if to relieve Western fears that Eastern triadology neglects the mutuality and reciprocity of the Son and the Spirit—including the sharing and participation of the Son in the eternal spiration of the Spirit from the Father—Staniloae speaks of "the active repose of the Holy Spirit in the Son" and an intimate "eternal relation of the Son to the Spirit [which] is the basis of the sending of the Spirit to us by the Son."³⁸ According to Staniloae, Eastern trinitarian theology as articulated by Gregory the Cypriot goes so far as

³⁴Ibid., p. 16.

³⁵"The Procession of the Holy Spirit," pp. 174-86.

³⁶Garrigues, p. 153. However, it should be noted that Garrigues does not ask for the removal of the *filioque* from the Creed.

³⁷Staniloae, p. 176. Here Staniloae also points to a statement by Gregory Palamas which is strikingly similar to that of Garrigues quoted above. According to Palamas "the Spirit has his existence from the Father of the Son, because he who causes the Spirit to proceed is also the Father."

³⁸Ibid., pp. 180 and 182.

to posit an *active eternal projection or shining forth or manifestation* of the Spirit through the Son, a manifestation which applies to the Spirit's eternal existence (ὑπόστασις) as well as to the temporal mission (οἰκονομία), a manifestation for which the presupposition "from" (ἐκ) as well as "through" (διὰ) may be used!³⁹

The positions of Staniloae and the Klingenthal Memorandum mark an unprecedented and astounding ecumenical convergence holding a startling promise for the resolution of the *filioque* controversy. It may be asked: what, then, is the burning objection to the *filioque* from an Eastern viewpoint? It is not that the *filioque* implies two sources in the Godhead because already Augustine himself taught that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from a single source or principle.⁴⁰ Nor is it that the *filioque* subordinates the Spirit to the Son because the doctrine of consubstantiality clearly implies the full unity and equality of the three persons of the Trinity. Rather it is the objection that the *filioque* as a doctrinal formula and as articulated by Augustine and all his later interpreters posits that not only the Father but also the Son is a source or origin or cause of the Spirit. In view of Staniloae's position this objection may be refined in a crucial way as follows. It can be said that the Son even causes the eternal *manifestation* of the existence of the Spirit, but it cannot be said that the Son causes the Spirit's *coming into existence* or *hypostasis* itself. The Father fully gives the Spirit to the Son so that, according to a striking patristic image, the Spirit is the treasure while the Son is the treasurer. In other words, the Son in every way receives and manifests the Spirit but does not *cause its existence as such* because only the Father is the source or origin or cause of both the Son and the Spirit through ineffably different but united acts (i.e., generation and procession).

If explored more fully in future discussions the above fine distinction may well be the key to an authentic resolution of the *filioque* controversy because it would seem to completely satisfy the deeper

³⁹Ibid., pp. 182-84. But Garrigues speaks about "a dominant trend in the Eastern tradition to regard the mediation of the Son merely as a passive and quite non-causal condition of the procession of the Spirit from the Father alone" (p. 153). Obviously for Garrigues "passive" and "non-causal" are identical, whereas Staniloae shows that the Eastern tradition holds to an active, yet non-causal, participation of the Son in the Spirit's procession from the Father.

⁴⁰On the Trinity 5.14; 15.27.

theological concerns of both sides. On the Western side theologians have seen the *filioque* as affirming the intimate relation between Son and Spirit, that is to say that the Spirit of God is also in every way the Spirit of Christ over against any Arian subordinationist tendencies. In terms of trinitarian theology this would mean affirmation of the truth that the Son participates in both the eternal and the temporal going forth of the Spirit from the Father. Although the Nicene Creed does not explicitly speak about the relation of the Son and the Spirit, a silence which Moltmann⁴¹ and others have seen as a weakness in the Creed, this silence in the words of Moltmann himself, "cannot be interpreted as a dogmatic decision of the conciliar Fathers against any participation of the Son in the going forth of the Spirit from the Father."⁴²

Orthodox theologians would not only fully agree with Moltmann's above words, but they would also point out that the Cappadocian teaching of the *περιχώρησις* (mutual containing or indwelling) of the three persons of the Trinity, a touchstone in Eastern triadology, is a crowning affirmation of the close relations of the Son and the Spirit as frequently affirmed by both the pre-Nicene and the post-Nicene Fathers. According to Gregory of Nyssa, the Son in some sense even "mediates" in the procession of the Spirit.⁴³ Moreover, the Nicene Creed is not totally silent about these matters because its formulation that the Spirit is, in Basilian doxological language, "co-worshiped and co-glorified with the Father and the Son" clearly suggests the teaching of the *περιχώρησις*. Basil's doxology, "Glory be to the Father with (σύν) the Son, [and] with (σύν) the Holy Spirit," so Gregory the Theologian explains, signifies the co-presence and co-existence of all three persons at once.⁴⁴ Finally, according to Staniloae's interpretation of the later patristic tradition, as we have seen, Eastern trinitarian theology explicitly affirms the participation of the Son in the Spirit's eternal procession from the Father not only in terms of an intimate eternal *accompaniment* (so Gregory Palamas) but also *manifested accompaniment*, i.e., an active eternal manifestation

⁴¹Moltmann, pp. 165-66.

⁴²Ibid., p. 166. Zizioulas puts it more strongly: the Creed's phraseology "does not exclude a mediating role of the Son in the procession of the Spirit" (p. 44).

⁴³So Zizioulas, "Interpreting the Greek Fathers," p. 43.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 38 and 40.

of the existence or ὑπόστασις of the Spirit “through” and even “from” the existence or ὑπόστασις of the Son (so Gregory of Cyprus)! Thus the deeper theological concerns of those who value the positive intentionality of the *filioque* would be fully satisfied by Eastern trinitarian teaching.

On the Eastern side, since the days of Maximos the Confessor Eastern theologians have on the basis of conciliar theology expressed strong anxieties about the *filioque* as compromising the principle of the “monarchy” of the Father and confusing the hypostatic properties of the Father and the Son, as if one could have (perish the blasphemous thought!) a hybrid Father-Son person. According to Cappadocian teaching, faithfully followed by later Eastern interpreters, the Father confers *all that he is* upon the Son and the Spirit, *except for his personal or hypostatic distinctiveness as Father* (his eternal Fatherhood or unbegottenness or personal mode of existence as unoriginate and uncaused source within the Trinity) which he passes on neither to the Son nor to the Spirit. So, too, the Son is *all that the Father and the Spirit are, except for his personal or hypostatic distinctiveness as Son* (his eternal Sonship or begottenness or personal mode of existence by generation from the Father) which he communicates neither to the Father nor to the Spirit. Likewise the Spirit is *all that the Father and the Son are, except for his personal or hypostatic distinctiveness as Spirit* (his Spirithood or eternal spiration or personal mode of existence by procession from the Father) which he communicates neither to the Father nor to the Son. Thus, all three persons of the Trinity are one God by hypostatic περιχώρησις and consubstantial unity but never to be confused in their personal distinctiveness, as they were by the modalistic heresy, because the Father is forever the Father, the Son is forever the Son, and the Spirit is forever the Spirit—one triune God revealed as the living God of the Bible. Thus, also, according to the Cappadocian doctrine of the Trinity, the “monarchy” of the Father means that, as Moltmann correctly states, “the first person [the Father] must guarantee *both* the unity of the godhead *and* the threefoldness of the persons” (emphasis is Moltmann’s),⁴⁵ that is to say, insofar as the Father is the only personal source or origin or cause of both the Son and the Spirit.

But does the *filioque* teaching intend to diminish the Father’s

⁴⁵Moltmann, p. 172.

“monarchy”? On this decisive question the Klingenthal Memorandum, interpreting a Western perspective which is sensitive to the Eastern tradition, states:

It may be said that neither the early Latin Fathers, such as Ambrose and Augustine, nor the subsequent medieval tradition ever believed that they were damaging the principle of the Father’s “monarchy” by affirming the *filioque*. The West declared itself to be as much attached to this principle as were the Eastern Fathers (emphasis is the writer’s).⁴⁶

Similarly Moltmann observes that “the filioque was never directed against the ‘monarchy’ of the Father” and that the principle of the “monarchy” has “never been contested by the theologians of the Western Church.”⁴⁷ If these statements can be accepted by the Western theologians today in their full import of doing justice to the principle of the Father’s “monarchy,” which is so important to Eastern triadology, then the theological fears of Easterners about the *filioque* would seem to be fully relieved. Consequently, Eastern theologians could accept virtually any of the Memorandum’s alternate formulae in the place of the *filioque* on the basis of the above positive evaluation of the *filioque* which is in harmony with Maximos the Confessor’s interpretation of it. As Zizioulas incisively concludes:

The “golden rule” must be Saint Maximos the Confessor’s explanation concerning Western pneumatology: by professing the *filioque* our Western brethren do not wish to introduce another αἴτιον in God’s being except the Father, and a mediating role of the Son in the origination of the Spirit is not to be limited to the divine Economy, but relates also to the divine οὐσία. If East and West can repeat these two points *together* in our time, this would provide sufficient basis for a rapprochement between the two traditions.⁴⁸

However, can Western and Eastern theologians repeat these truths together today? Some additional comments will disclose the need of

⁴⁶Memorandum, p. 13.

⁴⁷Moltmann, p. 166.

⁴⁸Zizioulas, p. 54.

further clarifications toward an integrated theological solution to the controversy. First, Western theologians who perceive Eastern sensitivities cannot continue to state, as does André de Halleux, that the specific difference between East and West pertaining to the *filioque* is a "peripheral difference."⁴⁹ Halleux recommends that the *filioque* be removed from the Creed, but only as a token of reconciliation and without repudiation of any of its undesirable implications.⁵⁰ But his solution cannot be accepted by the Orthodox because it avoids the problem. Halleux seems to defend an optional *filioque* as a *theologoumenon* on the basis of the Cappadocian teaching of the περιχώρησις and consubstantiality of the Trinity, but he neglects to take full account of the Cappadocian teaching of the "monarchy" (not "monopatrism" as used by Halleux). Neither does he consider that the Synodal Letter of 382, written by Fathers who were at the Second Synod (381) and who interpret this Synod with surprisingly analytical terminology, specifically warns that "neither the *hypostaseis* are confused, nor the individual properties abolished" by an adequate trinitarian theology.⁵¹ This writer could agree with Halleux that the difference over the *filioque* is not "the nodal point of contradiction between two irreconcilable pneumatologies"⁵² because of what East and West share as a common teaching about the Spirit quite apart from the unacceptable aspects of the *filioque*. But there are other options in assessing this difference than Halleux's two extremes of either "irreconcilable pneumatologies" or "peripheral difference."

Secondly, there is the delicate but crucial question of the Western ascription of "secondary cause" to the Son in the procession of the Spirit. Garrigues' solution fails because, despite all of his erudite explanations, Garrigues nonetheless wants not only to maintain the *filioque* as a doctrinal formula approved by the magisterium, but finally also to uphold the principle of the double cause of the Spirit's origin: "The Holy Spirit . . . proceeds in origin from the two [the Father and the Son]."⁵³ The problem is precisely the *que* ("and")

⁴⁹"Toward an Ecumenical Agreement on the Procession of the Holy Spirit and the Addition of the Filioque to the Creed," *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, p. 75.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 81-84.

⁵¹See Stylianopoulos, "Biblical Background," p. 161.

⁵²Halleux, p. 75.

⁵³Garrigues, pp. 162-63.

in the *filioque* which posits the Son, along with the Father, as the source or cause of the Spirit. Gregory of Nyssa does not say in the quote cited by Garrigues⁵⁴ that the Son “causes” the Spirit. Although Gregory, in the context of his discussion of causality in the final paragraphs of his *An Answer to Ablabius* refers to the Father as the “first cause,” almost begging the question of the Son as “second cause,” nevertheless he meticulously avoids this easy inference. He grants a “mediation” of the Son in the Spirit’s eternal procession from the Father, but this is a mediation which does not compromise the phrase “from the Father,” that is, it “does not allow for the Son to acquire the role of αἰτιον (‘cause’) by being a mediator.”⁵⁵

The Cappadocians, and most certainly the two Gregories, could never have used the creedal ἐκπορεύμενον with the conjunction καὶ (“and”) to describe the Spirit’s relation to the Son in the manner of the *filioque*. Gregory the Theologian himself coined the noun ἐκπόρευσις (“procession”) in order to affirm the opposite, to *distinguish* between the three persons of the Trinity, and in particular to differentiate the Son’s generation and the Spirit’s procession, both originating from the Father but each in their own ineffably unique ways, so that the Spirit might be confessed not as a “second Son” but in his own personal distinctiveness as Spirit.

Nor will it do to appeal, as Garrigues does, to the etymological meaning of *procession*.⁵⁶ The context of the Creed, in which the

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 156.

⁵⁵So Ziziloulas, pp. 43-44.

⁵⁶Garrigues correctly gives the different etymological meanings of the parallel verbs used in the Greek and Latin versions of the Creed, the first (ἐκπορεύεσθαι) meaning “to go forth out of” or “to issue from” and the second (*procedere*) meaning “to go forward” or “to progress forward.” It follows that *procedere* is not exactly equivalent to ἐκπορεύεσθαι but to another Greek verb προχωρεῖν (“to go forward”), just as ἐκπορεύεσθαι may more precisely be rendered with the Latin *exportare*. Thus the participle ἐκπορεύμενον (“who goes forth out of”) used in the Creed for the Spirit’s origin from the Father should have been translated in Latin as *qui ex Patre se exportat* (“who goes forth out of the Father” or “who issues from the Father”), so Garrigues correctly explains, and not *qui ex Patre procedit* because the *pro* in *procedere* gives us the meaning “who goes forward from the Father.” But then, in a startling turn of reasoning, Garrigues suggests to English-speaking Orthodox in the West, when they recite the Creed, not to use “proceeds” which can imply a *filioque* but a more precise alternative for ἐκπορεύμενον! He fails inexplicably to see that the opposite is the

Greek ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον ("who proceeds from the Father") parallels the earlier confessional formula ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα ("begotten from the Father"), has clearly in view the Son's and the Spirit's eternal origin from the Father and only the Father. In other words, the acquired technical meaning of procession, accurately based on the ἐκ ("out of") of the creedal term ἐκπορευόμενον ("who proceeds out of"), renders the *filioque* a doctrinal error because *in the context of the Creed the filioque formula inescapably confesses a joint cause (Father "and" Son) in the Spirit's origin*. But any ascription of joint cause to the Son in the Spirit's coming into existence or ὑπόστασις as such cannot avoid blurring the persons of the Father and the Son, according to Cappadocian presuppositions, into a single, unthinkable Father-Son person, which was Mark of Ephesus' sharp criticism of the *filioque* at the Council of Florence.⁵⁷ This is the reason why Staniloae, in his response to Garrigues, observes that Garrigues' conciliatory proposal is not exactly the same as the *filioque*.⁵⁸ This is also the reason why the Klingenthal Memorandum, if I interpret its intent correctly, mentions but does not support the teaching of the Son as a "secondary cause" and consequently recommends the removal of the *filioque* formula from the Creed.⁵⁹

Thirdly, Moltmann's view of the "monarchy" of the Father needs to be addressed as well. Although he advocates the withdrawal of the *filioque* as an "interpretative interpolation" into a common creed, and also speaks of a "justified rejection" of an unqualified *filioque*, Moltmann grounds this rejection not on the principle of the "monarchy" of the Father but rather on a new proposal of his own.⁶⁰ I regard this proposal as speculative because I do not know exactly how to relate it to the historico-theological discussion of the *filioque*. I would

case. The Orthodox can accept the use of "proceeds" in its etymological meaning (thus literally, "the Holy Spirit . . . who goes forward from the Father and the Son") because such use implies no *filioquism*, but they cannot by any means accept a precise alternative based on *exportare* or another such verb because that would heighten *filioquism* by emphasizing the Spirit's eternal origin from the Father and the Son as from a joint cause.

⁵⁷See Markos A. Orphanos, "The Procession of the Holy Spirit according to Certain Later Greek Fathers," *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, p. 35.

⁵⁸Staniloae, pp. 174-77.

⁵⁹Memorandum, p. 13.

⁶⁰See above, note 16.

only ask, as Photios might have asked,⁶¹ how can the Spirit receive a "perfect" existence from the Father and still need to obtain a "personal" form by relation to the Son? Is not the Spirit's origin from and relation to the Father already both perfect and personal?⁶²

Despite Moltmann's emphasis on "concrete thinking," i.e. thinking about the Trinity emphatically as concrete, different persons rather than as three abstract homogeneous equivalents, he paradoxically misinterprets the Eastern teaching of "monarchy" of the Father as "monopatristism" ("the concept [*sic*] of the sole causality of the Father") which allegedly subverts the Cappadocian balance between the unity and the threefoldness of the Trinity.⁶³ But this approach misses the point that, among the Cappadocians and their later Eastern interpreters, terms such as "unbegotten," "unoriginate," "source," and "first cause," which were used to describe the Father's uniqueness, were always intended not as philosophical definitions of the divine being (so Eunomios!) but rather as confessional descriptions of the distinctiveness of the person of the Father. Precisely because of the biblical and Cappadocian identification of God with the *Father*, i.e., the person of the Father who safeguards both the unity and the threefoldness of the Trinity, we must describe the Father as the only "cause" in the Trinity.⁶⁴ To quote Zizioulas: "The ultimate ontological category cannot be other than the Person, the hypostasis of the Father *alone*, since two hypostases being such an ultimate category would result into two gods"⁶⁵ (or an impossible double person). This would also completely vindicate Photios whose emphasis on the "alone" was a defense of the Cappadocian balance over against

⁶¹See Orphanos, p. 23.

⁶²Nonetheless one can discern that Moltmann's proposal is somewhat related to a significant point that Staniloae, p. 184, makes about Gregory of Cyprus' view of the relation between the Son and the Spirit: "The Son marks a progress (*πρόοδος*) in the existence which the Spirit receives from the Father, one might say a fulfillment, the achievement of the end of which he came into existence." This Gregorian teaching is described as "very bold" by Staniloae because it obviously suggests that the Spirit receives less than perfect existence from the Father. Yet, cautions Staniloae, according to Gregory, the eternal "shining out of the Spirit from the Son is, in the last analysis, due to the Father" and so Gregory does not relinquish "the patristic teaching about the monarchy of the Father" (*ibid*).

⁶³Moltmann, p. 172.

⁶⁴So Zizioulas, p. 46. See his relevant statement above in note 24.

⁶⁵*Ibid*.

the misguided "and" of the *filioque* positing a joint cause. Photios neither taught a "monopatristism" in the sense of isolating the Father from the Son and the Spirit (indeed, he well knew the teachings of the περιχώρησις and ὁμοούσιον or consubstantiality of the Trinity) nor did he think of the sole causality of the Father, in Moltmann's erroneous interpretation of "monopatristism," as a "concept." Rather, while upholding the unity of the divine persons in all common things (τὰ κοινά), Photios also differentiated their uncommunicable personal properties (τὰ ἀκοινώτητα), that is to say, he viewed the triune God as concretely different persons—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, both united and differentiated—and thus strongly objected to the *filioque*'s implication of a joint Son-Father *hypostasis* (υἱοπατρία), which he regarded as the teaching of Sabbelios or some other half-Sabellian monster.⁶⁶

A final note of clarification is necessary concerning the *filioque* and its relationship to the Eastern distinction between "immanent" and "economic" Trinity which, according to Ritschl,⁶⁷ lies behind "the difference between East and West" on the *filioque*. Ritschl's is an important observation but it has to be qualified in two ways. First, as this paper has stressed, the Eastern tradition teaches a "mediation" of the Son in the "eternal procession" as well as the "temporal mission" of the Spirit. To quote Staniloae: "The eternal relation of the Son to the Spirit is the basis of the sending of the Spirit to us by the Son."⁶⁸ This teaching is a touchstone for the ecumenical resolution of the *filioque* problem today. Secondly, although the above distinction properly differentiates between, on the one hand, God's relations to himself and, on the other hand, God's relations to creation, it by no means intends to suggest two Trinities. In speaking about "immanent" and "economic" Trinity we are speaking about one God, united yet differentiated both within the Trinity and over against creation. As many of the contributors to *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, including Ritschl himself, and the Klingenthal Memorandum, emphasize: we must confess *one* Trinity, "the living God [who] from eternity to eternity was, is, and will be none other ('immanent Trinity') than he has shown himself to be in history ('economic

⁶⁶See Orphanos, p. 22.

⁶⁷Ritschl, p. 78.

⁶⁸Staniloae, p. 182.

Trinity").⁶⁹ The Eastern teaching about the "monarchy" of the Father not only presupposes this biblical principle that the "economic" Trinity is the only basis for all reflection about the "immanent" Trinity, but also affirms the biblical truth that the one, living God, who is the Father, reveals himself in his Son, and through his Son in the power of the Spirit, three uncreated persons who are united but not confused.

Thus Ritschl's above point may more accurately be expressed by saying that the distinction between "immanent" and "economic" Trinity, as well as the parallel distinction between the "essence" and "energies" of God, are *additional* background differences in the Eastern and Western doctrinal traditions which need systematic attention but which do not necessarily have to be resolved prior to arriving at a solution of the *filioque* problem. These additional differences are related to the *filioque* question but did not necessarily produce the *filioque*.⁷⁰ The *filioque* clause by reason of its placement in the Creed has to do with the "immanent" Trinity. Augustine himself was chiefly concerned with explaining the "immanent" Trinity, i.e., the inner trinitarian relations, when he formulated the *filioque* teaching. Had Augustine converged on the preposition "through," instead of the conjunction "and," to describe the Spirit's relation to the Son, he would have saved Christendom a lot of headaches. For the doctrinal formula "who proceeds from the Father *through* the Son" expresses correct teaching by Eastern criteria according to the twofold "golden rule" of Maximus the Confessor, i.e., negatively not to introduce another cause or principle or source in the Trinity except

⁶⁹Memorandum, p. 10.

⁷⁰I do not quite agree with Ritschl (p. 61) and Romanides (p. 297) who state that Augustine on account of his own presuppositions *had* to teach the *filioque*. According to Romanides, Augustine's whole reasoning about the differentiation of the Trinity may be reduced to this: the Father is from no one, the Son is from One, and the Spirit is from Two (ibid). But Augustine, without violating his own presuppositions, could have speculated, theoretically speaking, that the Spirit "is" from the Father and is "eternally breathed" by the Father "through" the Son, i.e., he could have speculated that the Spirit is from Two not by means of the conjunctive "and" but by the prepositional "through," had he been sensitive to the Cappadocian teaching of the "monarchy" of the Father and the intent of the Second Synod's use of ἐκπορευόμενον. Of course this is not to say that Augustine's philosophico-theological approach, and especially his teaching about created grace, would be acceptable to Eastern theology.

the Father and positively to affirm a mediating role of the Son in the Spirit's eternal origin from the Father. The same golden rule, which is the sound theological foundation for an ecumenical resolution of the *filioque* controversy today as proposed by the Klingenthal Memorandum, is also found in John Damascene who writes: "The Spirit is the Spirit of the Father as proceeding from the Father . . . , but he is also the Spirit of the Son, not as proceeding from him, but as proceeding through him from the Father, for the Father alone is the cause."⁷¹ Augustine *intended* to affirm nearly the same truths, namely, the intimacy between the Son and the Spirit, as well as the Father's primacy in the Trinity. But familiar neither with the Cappadocian presuppositions nor the intentionality of conciliar terminology, Augustine's great mind followed another direction and settled on what proved to be the critical *que* ("and") of the *filioque* teaching and he did so in order to stress the unity between Father and Son as a single principle or joint cause. However, he thus committed an unsuspecting but fateful error by Cappadocian criteria, i.e., confusing in a modalistic way the persons of the Father and the Son, an error which stands in its specificity in irreducible conflict with the conciliar principle of the "monarchy" of the Father and therefore should be removed from the Nicene Creed on theological as well as canonical grounds.

THE RELEVANCE OF THE *FILIOQUE* QUESTION

The Klingenthal Memorandum presents to the churches a remarkable theological opening for the resolution of the *filioque* controversy which has troubled the Eastern and Western churches for over a millennium. The Klingenthal proposal, to use Staniloae's words about Gregory the Cypriot's teaching, "opens to us a door of understanding" by emphasizing the relation of the Spirit to the Son and yet not abandoning the patristic teaching of the "monarchy" of the Father.⁷² The solution of the *filioque* problem would be a profound testimony to the value of the modern ecumenical movement which renounces polemics and fosters deep mutual understanding of different

⁷¹"Πνεῦμα τοῦ Πατρὸς ὡς ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον . . . καὶ Υἱοῦ δὲ Πνεύμα, οὐχ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον· μόνος γὰρ αἴτιος ὁ Πατήρ," *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1.12.

⁷²Staniloae, p. 184.

positions in the sincere hope of achieving authentic resolution of conflicts. In addition it would be a dramatic crowning of the "ecumenism of love" with a specific great victory in the realm of the "ecumenism of truth," a tremendous step toward Christian unity especially significant to the Orthodox who value the Nicene Creed to the highest degree and who are not always certain about the seriousness with which Westerners regard classic Christian doctrines.

However, what is the intrinsic value of resolving the *filioque* problem apart from its contemporary ecumenical significance? What real difference, one way or the other, would settlement of the *filioque* question signify, and what is the degree of magnitude of that difference? In the process of making decisions and introducing liturgical changes according to the Klingenthal recommendations the churches should by all means seriously consider the intrinsic value of these steps based on the wider relevance of the *filioque* pertaining to the theology, spirituality, and practical life of the churches. I would like to offer comments on these matters with the view to sketching a wider context for evaluating the importance of the *filioque* question.

On a doctrinal level the specific impact of the *filioque* is on the confession of the faith of the universal Church as attested in the Bible and summed up by the Nicene Creed. The reexamination of the *filioque* question raises the possibility of a universal confession of faith by Christians today and the appropriation of the Nicene Creed as the normative Creed of Christianity. As a confession of faith, forged by momentous debates and expressing the universal Church's affirmation of basic Christian truths pertaining to God and salvation, the Nicene Creed is not merely an "ancient historical" confession, as some would seem to refer to it, but rather a living confession of the universal faith of the Church constantly proclaimed in worship and always offered as a celebration of Christian truth. It is reasonable to expect that such a confession of faith, being the doctrinal anchor of a united Church, should be in every way accurate, consistent with itself, and truly universal. On this doctrinal level the *filioque* is an "interpretative interpolation" which at minimum stands in doubtful consistency with the theology of the Creed, as we have shown.

But, if we grant that the *filioque* is a doctrinal error, how serious an error is it? The *filioque* does not question the trinitarian dogma but only seeks to interpret it. It is not a difference in dogma but in the interpretation of dogma. On the positive side the *filioque* intends to affirm the closeness of the Son and the Spirit, as well as the unity

of the Son and the Father, so that the Spirit may be confessed as the mutual eternal bond of love of the Father and the Son and as their common gift to human beings.⁷³ Augustine himself who provides the classic reasoning behind the *filioque* in no way doubts the dogma of the Trinity but rather powerfully defends it through philosophico-theological explanations based on Scripture and Christian tradition. On the negative side the theological charge that the *filioque* implies a subordination and a consequent “depersonalizing” of the Spirit⁷⁴ cannot be sustained because the Creed, Augustine, and all later Augustinian interpreters of the dogma of the Trinity firmly uphold the teaching of both the threefoldness and consubstantial unity (ὁμοούσιον) of the Trinity. *The only legitimate theological objection to the filioque is that it compromises the “monarchy” of the Father as the only first principle or source or cause within the Trinity, a compromise which was wholly unintended by Augustine and later Western thinkers.*

The specific theological difference may be reduced to this: the *que* (“and”) of the *filioque* does not seem to relinquish the “monarchy” of the Father in the Augustinian context but unintentionally does relinquish it in the Cappadocian context. But does this difference in the interpretation of dogma justify the divisive centrality which the *filioque* has been given in history by force of human stubbornness and polemics? Probably not. Could one suggest that the *filioque*’s unwitting blurring of the Father and the Son into a single, unthinkable person does actually blur the Father and the Son in their eternal existence? Absolutely not.

The real problem, then, is the uncanonical inclusion of the *filioque* in the Creed which automatically attributes to it dogmatic authority, an issue of the greatest magnitude on both counts. That an unintended error in the interpretation of dogma should not itself be given dogmatic status is a truth so evident as to need no defense. It is on this canonical and dogmatic level that the *filioque* became,

⁷³See Boris Bobrinskoy, “The Filioque Yesterday and Today,” *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, pp. 141-42, for a rare case of an Orthodox theologian seeking to discern some “positive values” in the *filioque*.

⁷⁴An unfair charge often repeated by Orthodox. The same charge is made by some Western theologians, for example see Alasdair Heron, “The *Filioque* in Recent Reformed Theology,” *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, p. 113, and Herwig Aldenhoren, “The Question of the Procession of the Holy Spirit and its Connection with the Life of the Church,” *ibid.*, p. 130.

according to Vladimir Lossky's words, "the one dogmatic reason for the separation between East and West" and "the primordial point" of linkage of all other divergencies "to the extent that they have any doctrinal content."⁷⁵ In this perspective the *filioque* is a dogmatic clue or doctrinal pointer to a theology which tilts the Cappadocian balance between the threefoldness and the unity of the Trinity toward the Sabellian side. To quote Moltmann: "The teaching on the Trinity in the Western Church right down to Karl Barth and Karl Rahner has a tendency to modalism."⁷⁶ This is not to say that East and West are locked into "two irrenconcilable pneumatologies" because, quite apart from the specific theological difference on the *filioque*, and most often in total oblivion of questionable Augustinian presuppositions, Christians of the East and the West have enjoyed a common biblical and liturgical heritage pertaining to both the divine person and "economy" of the Holy Spirit. But it is to say that the raising of the *filioque* to the level of dogmatic authority not only created a doctrinal crisis in the consciousness of the Church but also gave Augustinian trinitarian theology with which the *filioque* is associated a role which it would not otherwise have had. Should the *filioque* be withdrawn from the Creed by the Western churches and consequently deprived of dogmatic significance, then the discussion about theological backgrounds could also be more relaxed.

On a general theological level, then, the relevance of the *filioque* question involves a fresh appropriation of classic biblical and patristic modes of thought. Discussion of the *filioque* problem raises many questions about differences in theological approaches and differences in the understanding of the nature of theology itself, especially a theology rooted in the Church as a community of faith. On this level we must be careful not unnecessarily to abstract or absolutize mutually exclusive "Western" and "Eastern" approaches, or mutually exclusive Augustinian and Cappadocian "presuppositions." There are substantial similarities of faith, work, and thought between Eastern and Western Fathers. Broad sources and truths are shared by the Eastern and Western traditions. There are also differences in approaches and teachings *within* major strands of Christian tradition from New Testament times. Augustine's greatness as an interpreter of the Bible and the Christian tradition cannot be fairly questioned by Orthodox on

⁷⁵See Brobinskoy, p. 137.

⁷⁶Moltmann, p. 173. See also Heron, p. 113.

the grounds that he held certain unconscious presuppositions which were faulty. Let the specific faulty presuppositions be pointed out but not used as a base for a general rejection of a major theological witness. Above all salvation comes to us from Christ and by way of the Gospel and the central Christian truths, not by way of "approaches" and "presuppositions." Variety in approach and teaching is not necessarily divisive, and if it is occasionally conflicting, the conflicts of theological opinions do not necessarily have to be raised to the level of the division of the churches unless they are absolutely and demonstrably damaging to the heart of the Christian life and witness.

Having laid down that caveat, we may indicate certain questions which can analytically be examined in future ecumenical discussions pertaining to the *filioque* and related background issues. Is Lossky's unrelieved criticism of the *filioque* as a doctrine which brings an "alien light" of fallen reason into mystical theology really justified?⁷⁷ What are the features and dimensions of this "alien light" as defined by reasonable scholarly discourse? Allchin finds that the theology which produced the *filioque* led to an "understanding of the nature of man and his relationship to God" in terms of isolation and opposition, rather than the "theocentric humanism" of the Eastern tradition.⁷⁸ Romanides states that "as a heresy the *filioque* is as bad as Arianism" because of the questionable Augustinian presuppositions about created grace, the nature of scriptural revelation, and view of God as substance.⁷⁹ Staniloae, too, is concerned about a theology of created grace which would seem to deny the biblical witness to Spirit-bearing humanity.⁸⁰

All these questions seem to revolve around the issue of the distinction of immanent and economic Trinity which the Orthodox view as implied by biblical revelation and explicitly taught as early as Athanasios in the context of his struggle with Arianism. But Western theologians seem to hold a different view on this matter. According to Ritschl "*the basic theological-epistemological thesis in Karl Barth's dogmatics*" is "the ultimate abolition" of that distinction, which abolition is "dear to Western theology."⁸¹ Is the West, then,

⁷⁷Bobrinskoy, p. 137.

⁷⁸Allchin, p. 95.

⁷⁹Romanides, pp. 308-11.

⁸⁰Staniloae, pp. 178-79.

⁸¹Ritschl, p. 56.

“substantialist” on account of a deep philosophical view of God and the East “personalist” on account of a deep biblical view of God as the living God who truly reveals himself yet remains transcendent? To quote Zizioulas: “It is in the light of this absence of an ontology of the Person in the West that we must place the entire history of East-West relations in theology.”⁸² This writer is not comfortable with the generalizations made or implied by the above comments. Analytic studies on specific problems are in order. Such studies would be of considerable help to future ecumenical discussions on the *filioque*. They would also provide the groundwork for a more balanced comparison of the methods, nature, and accents of Western and Eastern theology.

The above remarks have addressed the question of the relevance of the *filioque* to theology in general. But what of the practical life of the Church? The relevance of the *filioque* question to the concrete life of the Church deserves serious reflection, too. The ancient doctrinal controversies centered on issues of immediate relevance for Christian life. For example, Gregory the Theologian in his *Theological Orations* reasons that the adoration of the Holy Spirit in Christian worship proves that he is God. “If he is not to be worshiped, how can he deify me in baptism? . . . And indeed from the Spirit comes our new birth, and from the new birth our new creation, and from the new creation our deeper knowledge of the dignity of him from whom it is derived.”⁸³ Likewise the contemporary ecumenical discussion on the *filioque* offers to the churches the opportunity of reflecting on the Spirit’s presence in the life of the Church and of encouraging a deeper awareness of the renewing action of the Spirit in the personal life of Christians. As Harold Dittmantson writes:

A great deal of the church’s weakness and lack of effective leadership in society spring from a failure to invigorate the thought, work, and worship of the Church by recovering a deeper and wider vision of the workings of the Spirit.⁸⁴

In what way does the *filioque* question impact on similar concerns?

⁸²Zizioulas, p. 48.

⁸³*Theological Orations* 5.28.

⁸⁴Harold H. Dittmantson, “The Significance of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit for Contemporary Theology,” *The Holy Spirit in the Life of the Church*, p. 208.

It is clear that the dogma of the uncreated nature of the Holy Spirit has direct impact on Christian worship and our confession of faith that we are saved by the Spirit's activity. But how does the filioquist interpretation of this dogma make any clear difference with regard to ecclesial life, spirituality, and witness? This writer must confess his perplexity about answering this question because on this practical level the theological debates on the *filioque* have all too often seemed to him, in Sergius Bulgakov's words, "a sterile war of words." The following quote from Bulgakov perfectly expresses my thoughts:

For many years, as far as I have been able, I have been looking for the traces of this influence, and I have tried to understand the issues at stake, what was the *living* significance of this divergence, *where* and *how* it was revealed in *practice*. I confess that I have not succeeded in finding it; rather I should go further and simply deny its existence. This divergence exists at no point in patristic teaching on the activities of the Holy Spirit in the world, on his "mission," his gifts, on the mysteries, on grace . . . we end up with a strange dogma, deprived of dogmatic power.⁸⁵

In view of the complexities and divergent phenomena of history the charges that the *filioque* doctrine has led to ecclesiasticism, authoritarianism, clericalism, and even the dogma of Pope⁸⁶ are wholly unconvincing. When strains of clericalism and ecclesiasticism develop in any Christian tradition the work of the Spirit, to be sure, is often restrained and impeded whether in the East or the West. But it does not at all follow that the specific doctrine of the *filioque* itself has caused such developments in the West. The West offers such a diverse picture of both authoritarian and renewal movements, and yet the whole Western world has presupposed the *filioque*. Roman Catholicism itself, despite the *filioque*, testifies to a tradition of rich spirituality and deep renewal currents. Where and how can one begin to connect this plethora of Western phenomena with the *filioque* and its "presuppositions" of which most people are hardly aware?

⁸⁵Cited by Bobrinskoy, p. 136. Curiously, Bulgakov later vitiated his statement by linking, as Bobrinskoy points out, "the *filioque* with the Western Christocentricism which culminates in the dogma of the Pope as Vicar of Christ," *ibid*.

⁸⁶See Heron, p. 113; Aldenhoven, p. 130; and Bulgakov cited by Bobrinskoy, p. 136.

The practical implications of Staniloae's magisterial contribution to *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ* are also difficult to grasp. He writes that "the filioque is opposed to our adoption as sons by the Spirit of the Son."⁸⁷ His reasoning is that "if the Spirit also comes [sic]⁸⁸ from the Son, he would no more be the Spirit of the Son, but would be exclusively the Spirit of the Father"⁸⁹ and thus "would rather make us fathers."⁹⁰ Does Staniloae intend to say "exclusively the Spirit of the Father" by reason of the Father being the principle cause according to the Augustinian interpretation of the *filioque*? Why would that be opposed to our adoption as sons by the Spirit of the Son? Is not the Spirit, according to the Augustinian filioquist interpretation, also the Spirit of the Son? Furthermore, does not Staniloae's thinking suggest a qualitative similarity between the hypostatic sonship of the Logos (immanent Trinity) with our adopted sonship by grace (economic Trinity) which is impossible by Eastern criteria since our adopted sonship is a common adoption by the Trinity? Finally, do we not have in Staniloae's exposition a confused use of the terminology of "sons" and "fathers" suggesting that earthly daughters, fathers, and mothers are adopted literally as "sons" and only "sons" by God?

On the practical level it seems impossible to show how such subtle theological interpretations actually impact on the life of a Christian because the Holy Spirit can act or cease to act in a person whether or not he or she is informed about such subtleties. Western Christians have not depended on the *filioque* to appropriate the gracious actions of the Spirit. Their language and thinking about the Spirit are far more directly dependent on the Bible and also the liturgical traditions based on the language of the Bible. Even if a specific undesirable practical influence could immediately be connected to the *filioque*, which seems hardly possible, this doctrine certainly has not impacted on the life of Western Christians as widely as some generalizations would have it. Allchin gives an isolated example of Ann Griffiths, a keen theological mind of the eighteenth century, who confessed that she had thought of the Father and the Son as co-equal,

⁸⁷Staniloae, p. 177.

⁸⁸Read "originates" for "comes." Of course the Spirit comes also from the Son! Some problem of translation is probably involved here.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 177.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 176.

and the Spirit "as a functionary subordinate to them," and that this error of her mind struck at the root of Christian life.⁹¹ But how? Griffith's point is not practically illustrated. Besides, her intellectual error was not an accurate interpretation of the *filioque* in its context of classic trinitarian doctrine. There may also be a well-meaning Orthodox theologian or two somewhere who intellectually do not exactly maintain the Cappadocian balance but rather tend to think of the Trinity as separate persons. How does such an intellectual error impact on his or her practical life? How would one go about demonstrating it?

An example having to do with the relation of the teaching about the Spirit to personal and corporate Christian life can be offered in the reverse direction. One of the greatest witnesses to the living presence of the Spirit in the Orthodox tradition has been Symeon, the eleventh-century monastic who was later given the honorific title of New Theologian. His writings⁹² indicate with what holy passion he proclaimed to his contemporaries that the same life that the apostles lived by the power of the Spirit was possible for them in their days, too, and that to think otherwise was a denial of Christ's saving work. Based on his reading of John and Paul, and his own deep experience of renewal, he powerfully called his generation to true repentance and to a new birth "from above" (Jn 3.3). He emphasized a "baptism of the Holy Spirit," juxtaposing but not opposing it to sacramental baptism. For Symeon the Holy Spirit marks the soul's resurrection. The Spirit brings sinful Christians to life "as from the dead" (Rom 6.13). Symeon advocated an uncompromising and wide renewal for all, bishops, monks, and lay people alike, through repentance and through the real (οὐσωδῶς) and conscious (αἰσθητῶς) presence of the fire of the Spirit in their hearts, for otherwise titles, positions, and theological learning meant, so he declared, nothing for them but divine judgment. Symeon proved to be a prophetic voice in a Christian society inundated by formalism and ecclesiasticism. The incessant response to him was: But that's impossible! No one can live the apostolic life today! Pride is deluding you! Symeon was also persecuted by monks

⁹¹Allchin, p. 95.

⁹²See, for example, *Symeon the New Theologian: Discourses*, trans. C. J. de Catanzaro in the series *The Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York, 1980). See also George A. Maloney, S.J., *The Mystic of Fire and Light: St. Symeon the New Theologian* (Denville, NJ, 1975).

and hierarchs. He was finally driven to exile. I cannot think of a more telling example of a Christian tradition which, despite its rejection of the *filioque* and its correct teaching about the Holy Spirit, nevertheless was marked by such clericalism and formalism that actual readiness to welcome the presence of the Spirit in the practical life of the Church was the exception rather than the rule.

CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion it may be helpful to summarize the main points of this paper. Two key factors are crucial to the ecumenical settlement of the *filioque* question. The first is the recognition that the theological use of the *filioque* in the West against Arian subordinationism is fully valid according to the theological criteria of the Eastern tradition. In the West the *filioque* has been used to stress: (1) the consubstantial unity of the Trinity, (2) the divine status of the Son, and (3) the intimacy between the Son and the Spirit. All these points are also integral elements of Eastern trinitarian theology anchored on the Cappadocian teaching of *περιχώρησις* ("mutual indwelling") of the persons of the Trinity, a teaching reflected by the Nicene Creed which professes an equal worship and glorification of the Holy Trinity. Thus a fundamental and wide agreement exists between Eastern and Western trinitarian doctrine affirming the complete reciprocity and mutuality of the Son and the Spirit in their eternal relations (immanent Trinity) as well as their manifested action in creation, Church and society (economic Trinity). Christ is both the bearer and the sender of the Spirit. The Spirit of God is in every way also the Spirit of the Son.

The second key factor in the resolution of the *filioque* question is the recognition that biblical and patristic theology commonly affirm the teaching of the "monarchy" of the Father, i.e., that the Father is "the sole principle (*ἀρχή*), source (*πηγή*), and cause (*αἰτία*) of divinity" (Klingenthal Memorandum). This teaching is of decisive importance to Eastern trinitarian theology and a teaching which the *filioque* clause in the West, according to contemporary Western interpretations, has never intended to deny. However, the Augustinian interpretation of the *filioque*, i.e., that the Father and the Son are the *common cause* of the eternal being of the Spirit, unintentionally compromises the "monarchy" of the Father according to Cappadocian trinitarian theology presupposed and reflected by the Nicene Creed in which the verb "proceeds" (*ἐκπορεύμενον*) refers to the

eternal origin of the Spirit from the Father. Eastern trinitarian thought as expressed by Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Cypriot and Gregory Palamas conceives of the Son as *mediating*, but not *causing*, the Spirit's procession from the Father. On this nuanced difference in doctrinal interpretation hangs the whole weight of centuries of controversy between the Eastern and Western churches. The formula "who proceeds from the Father *through* the Son" is a sound theological resolution of this problem in the conciliatory spirit of Maximus the Confessor laying aside the above specific Augustinian interpretation as an erroneous theological opinion but at the same time affirming the active participation of the Son in the eternal procession of the Spirit from the Father.

Finally, the *filioque* question does not signal a "great divide" between the Eastern and Western churches because these churches commonly confess the dogma of the Holy Trinity and share broad agreement regarding the work ("economy") of the Spirit according to Scripture, tradition, and liturgy. The *filioque* marks not a decisive difference in dogma but an important difference in the interpretation of dogma due to the differing Cappadocian and Augustinian approaches to the mystery of the Trinity. The theological implications of this difference are a more consistently biblical and personal understanding of the Trinity as concrete persons and careful avoidance of any modalistic tendencies confusing the uniqueness of each of the divine persons. The well-known critique that the *filioque* subordinates the Spirit to the Son and thereby "depersonalizes" the Spirit seems to express theological polemic rather than theological truth. As far as the practical implications of this difference is concerned, i.e., the often repeated charges that the *filioque* leads to authoritarianism, institutionalism, clericalism and other similar tendencies, one is hard pressed to demonstrate these historically and theologically because such tendencies, as well as their opposites, have existed in most churches with or without the *filioque*. More fruitful for further study are the specific implications of the Augustinian and Cappadocian approaches to the Trinity and theology in general, especially the implications for life, spirituality and practice. This kind of direction in ecumenical theology would be welcome because, next to and after a resolution of the specific *filioque* question, which is a highly nuanced question of trinitarian theology, such a direction would help focus attention on the wider role of the Spirit in the churches, society and creation today.

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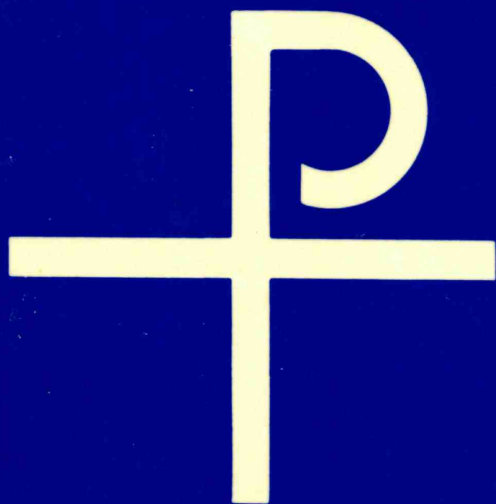
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**The
Greek
Orthodox
Theological
Review**

Ecumenical Perspectives on the Holy Spirit



**Volume 31
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Fall-Winter 1986**

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Contents

Editor's Note N. M. VAPORIS	xi
The Holy Spirit Consultation, An Introduction S. MARK HEIM	231
ARTICLES	
The Spirit, the Creed, and Christian Unity LLOYD G. PATTERSON	235
The Filioque: Dogma, Theologoumenon or Error? THEODORE STYLIANOPOULOS	255
The Holy Spirit and the Apostolic Faith, A Roman Catholic Response FRANCINE CARDMAN	289
Let the Spirit Come MARTHA ELLEN STORTZ	311
Pneumatological Issues in American Presbyterianism RICHARD LOVELACE	335
The Role of the Holy Spirit from a Methodist Perspective ROBERTA BONDI	351

Pneumatological Issues in the Holiness Movement DONALD W. DAYTON	361
---	-----

Reflections on Pneumatology in the Church of the Brethren Tradition LAUREE HERSCH MEYER	389
---	-----

The Nicean Creed, Filioque, and Pentecostal Movements in the United States GERALD T. SHEPPARD	401
---	-----

The Holy Spirit Consultation: A Summary Statement	417
---	-----

REVIEWS

Constantine P. Cavarnos, <i>Ἡ ἀγαθότης τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἡ ἐθελοκακία τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸν Βενιαμὶν Λεσβίον. Ἕνας σπουδαῖος ἐκκλησιαστικὸς λόγος τοῦ Βενιαμὶν μετὰ προλόγου, εἰσαγωγῆς, σημειώσεων, καὶ εὐρετηρίου. [The Goodness of God and the Malevolence of Men according to Benjamin Lesvios].</i> (JOHN E. REXINE)	429
---	-----

Bishop Chrysostomos, Hieromonk Auxentios, and Archimandrite Akakios, <i>Contemporary Traditionalist Orthodox Thought.</i> Bishop Chrysostomos, Hieromonk Ambrosios, and Hiero- monk Auxentios. <i>The Old Calendar Church of Greece.</i> (JOHN E. REXINE)	431
---	-----

Augustinos N. Kantiotes, Bishop of Florina. <i>On the Divine Liturgy: Orthodox Homilies</i> , Trans. with a Foreword by Asterios Gerostergios. (JOHN E. REXINE)	433
--	-----

Ihor Ševčenko. <i>Three Byzantine Literatures: A Layman's Guide.</i> (COSTAS M. PROUSSIS)	434
--	-----

Robert L. Wilken, <i>John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late Fourth Century</i> (GEORGE C. PAPADEMETRIOU)	437
Bishop Chrysostomos of Oreoi. <i>Repentance: Themes in Orthodox Patristic Psychology.</i> (THOMAS BRECHT)	440
William C. Weinrich. <i>Spirit and Martyrdom. A Study of the Work of the Holy Spirit in Contexts of Persecution and Martyrdom in the New Testament and Early Christian Literature.</i> (DUANE W. H. ARNOLD)	442
Terrence W. Tilley. <i>Story Theology.</i> (KENNETH M. CRAIG, JR.)	444
<i>Symeon the New Theologian, the Practical and Theological Chapters and the Three Theological Discourses.</i> Trans. with an Introduction by Paul McGuckin, CP. (GEORGE S. BEBIS)	445
George Dragas, <i>The Meaning of Theology.</i> (GEORGE S. BEBIS)	447
Constantine P. Cavarinos, <i>St. Savvas the New.</i> (BISHOP CHRYSOSTOMOS)	449
M. Scott Peck. <i>People of the Lie.</i> (BISHOP CHRYSOSTOMOS)	452
BOOK NOTES	455
<i>Ἐπὶ Μητρόπολις Ἑλβετίας: Τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς ιδρύσεώς της</i> [Holy Metropolis of Switzerland: The First Anniversary of its Founding]. (GEORGE PAPADEMETRIOU)	455

- Andreas J. Phytakes (ed.). *Ριζάρειος ἐκκλησιαστικὴ παιδεία, Τόμος Γ* [Rizareios *Ecclesiastical Education*, Volume 3].
(VASIL T. ISTAVRIDES) 456

- J. M. Hatzephotes (ed.). *Χαριστεῖον Σεραφεῖμ Τίκα, Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Πάσης Ἑλλάδος, ἐπὶ τῇ δεκαετηρίδι τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπείας αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τῇ τριακονταπενταετηρίδι τῆς ἀρχιεπατείας αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τῇ ἐβδομηκονταετηρίδι τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ* [In Honor of Seraphim Tika, Archbishop of Athens and of All Greece on the Tenth Anniversary of his Archepiscopacy, the Thirty-fifth of his Episcopacy, and His Seventieth Birthday].
(VASIL T. ISTAVRIDES) 457

- Basil B. Anagnostopoulos (ed.). *Μνήμη Μητροπολίτου Ἰκονίου Ἰακώβου* [In Memory of Metropolitan Iakovos of Ikonion].
(VASIL T. ISTAVRIDES) 461

IN MEMORIUM

- Professor Serge Verhovskoy
(GEORGE C. PAPADEMETRIOU) 461

- Professor Panagiotes Nellas
(GEORGE S. BEBIS) 462

- BOOKS RECEIVED** 465

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Editor's Note

It was with a great deal of satisfaction that *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* accepted Father Theodore Stylianopoulos' recommendation that it publish the papers read at the "Consultation of the Holy Spirit," sponsored by the Faith and Order Commission of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and hosted by Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

The Consultation brought together Christian scholars of diverse theological backgrounds who, nonetheless, found, as the reader of these pages will note, much common ground in their discussions centering on the Holy Spirit in the life of the Christian Church.

This volume, therefore, deserves the serious reflection and study of all clergy and laypersons interested in the unity of all Christ's people.

N. M. Vaporis

The Holy Spirit Consultation: A Summary Statement

ON OCTOBER 24-25, 1985 a consultation was held at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, Massachusetts to consider the similarities and differences among the Christian churches concerning our faith in the Holy Spirit. The consultation used the Klingenthal Memorandum "The *Filioque* Clause in Ecumenical Perspective," Klingenthal, 1979 (*Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, Faith and Order Paper No. 103, Lukas Vischer, ed., [Geneva, 1981]) as a reference point for its work. To many in the ecumenical movement, this memorandum appears to open new pathways toward resolution of the *filioque* question.

The papers prepared for the consultation addressed the place of the Holy Spirit in the trinitarian theology and life of various Christian traditions. Those of us who participated in the consultation represented an ever-wider diversity of Christian traditions. We were some fifty-five people, from the following Christian communions: Baptist, African Methodist Episcopal Zion, Brethren, Eastern and Oriental Orthodox, Episcopal, Holiness, Lutheran, Mennonite, Moravian, Pentecostal, Presbyterian/Reformed, Quaker, Roman Catholic, Swedenborgian, United Church of Christ and United Methodist. We met in the hope that, while dealing with our historic divisions and contemporary differences, we might recognize common areas of experience and thought concerning the Holy Spirit and also might serve the contemporary needs of the whole Christian Church which seeks ever anew to give authentic witness to the Holy Spirit.

Three main areas of concern emerged in the discussions of the consultation: a) the *filioque* question, b) the naming of God, and

c) the dynamic polarity between apostolic doctrine (creed) and apostolic life (experience). What follows, including the recommendations, is a summary of these discussions representing central issues raised by the papers, key points of discussion, and individual opinions. It is offered neither as an agreed statement nor as an expression of a consensus on any major issue, but rather as a contribution to the ongoing ecumenical conversation on the apostolic faith and life.

A. Filioque

1. The theological use of the *filioque* in the West was directed against any form of Arian ontological subordination of the Son to the Father and in this perspective is fully valid according to the theological criteria of the Eastern tradition.

2. In the West the *filioque* has been used to stress a) the consubstantial unity of the Trinity, b) the divine status of the Son, and c) the intimate relationship between the Son and the Spirit.

3. These points are also integral elements of Eastern trinitarian theology anchored in the Cappadocian teaching of *perichoresis* ("mutual indwelling") of the Persons of the Trinity. This teaching is reflected in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed which professes an equal worship and glorification of the Persons of the Holy Trinity.

4. A fundamental and wide agreement exists between Eastern and Western trinitarian doctrine affirming the complete reciprocity and mutuality of the Son and the Spirit in their eternal relations (immanent Trinity) as well as their manifested action in creation, Church and society (economic Trinity).

5. Christ is both the bearer and the sender of the Spirit. The Spirit of God is in every way also the Spirit of the Son.

6. The Eastern tradition has long affirmed the teaching on the "monarchy" of the Father, that is, "the Father is the sole principle (ἀρχή), source (πηγή) and cause (αἰτία) of divinity." (Klingenthal Memorandum)

7. The Western tradition has historically wished to show itself as much attached to this principle as the East. In affirming the *filioque* the Western tradition never thought that the "monarchy" of the Father was called in question.

8. However, the Eastern tradition has viewed the *filioque* as unintentionally compromising the "monarchy" of the Father, a doctrine which is enshrined in the Cappadocian teaching and reflected in the Nicene Creed which declares that the Spirit "proceeds from"

or "goes forth out of" (ἐκπορεύμενον) the Father.

9. The Eastern tradition has seen its its own trinitarian approach as more consistently biblical and personal, with careful avoidance of any modalistic tendencies which compromise the uniqueness of each of the divine Persons.

10. Many contemporary Eastern theologians have felt that the *filioque* subordinates the Spirit to the Son, and thereby depersonalizes the Spirit.

11. Contemporary Eastern theologians have often pointed out what they consider to be consequences of the *filioque*: authoritarianism, institutionalism, clericalism, etc. One is hard pressed to demonstrate that such conditions actually are the result of the *filioque*. The very same patterns can be found in most churches, with or without the *filioque*. Nonetheless, a feminist theologian from the West thought that the critique of the *filioque* in this perspective by the East was essentially correct.

12. In the Western tradition the *filioque* was intended to indicate that the Son was involved in the procession of the Spirit, though only in a secondary manner, leaving the "monarchy" of the Father intact. Anything the Son contributes to the procession of the Spirit he receives from the Father. Western theologians have maintained that the Nicene Creed's concern in declaring that the Spirit proceeds from the Father was not to determine the relationship of origin but the divinity of the Spirit.

13. Eastern trinitarian thought as expressed by Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Cypriot and Gregory Palamas, conceives of the Son as *mediating*, but not *causing*, the Spirit's procession from the Father. On this nuanced difference hangs the whole weight of centuries of controversy between the Eastern and Western churches. This is also the reason why the Orthodox cannot accept the conjunction "and" in the *filioque* clause ("from the Father *and* the Son") which signifies a joint cause in the procession of the Spirit.

14. The opinion from among the Orthodox was expressed that the specifically Augustinian approach implicit in the *filioque*, namely that the Son is in some sense a cause, would have to be recognized as doctrinally erroneous because it compromises the doctrine of the "monarchy" of the Father.

15. According to one Western opinion a considerable segment of Eastern theologians have recognized the integral relationship of the *filioque* to Western theological systems. According to this same

opinion within that system the preservation of the *filioque* is an acceptable position. The truth and the intent asserted in the *filioque* has been held by the West since the fourth century. To transfer the *filioque* out of the theological culture of the West and insert it into the Eastern framework, is a violation of the integrity of the Eastern theological culture.

16. Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople, who is recognized as a saint in the Orthodox Churches, proposed the formula "the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone." Yet this difference in teaching over against the *filioque* did not cause the breaking of communion between the Eastern and Western churches.

17. The question was asked whether the churches of the East and West would not be able to live together in a united church while the West retains the *filioque* as an authentic part of its theological identity. But others raised the question whether or not this approach would imply an avoidance, not resolution, of the *filioque* question.

18. The Klingenthal Memorandum gave a number of suggested formulations which might bridge the differences between East and West, among them "the Spirit proceeds from the Father of the Son," and "the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son." These formulae would safeguard the "monarchy" of the Father while at the same time affirming the active participation of the Son in the eternal procession of the Spirit from the Father.

19. It was noted that there is no possibility for some of the churches to promote the use of an alternate text of the Creed as long as there is a demand that the *filioque* be recognized as theologically erroneous.

20. Fruitful for further study are the specific implications of the Augustinian and Cappadocian approaches to the Trinity and theology in general, that is, the practical implications for the role of the Spirit in creation, the Church and society today.

21. On the agenda of both East and West is the integration of the "full and constant reciprocity of the Incarnate Word and the Holy Spirit" (Klingenthal Memorandum) into theology, catechesis and preaching.

22. The warning not to carry too far the distinctions between the economic and immanent Trinity, or between the temporal mission and eternal procession, is well taken.

23. The differences between the East and West in the matters of the *filioque* do not constitute a "great divide." Together East and West confess the Holy Trinity, and share broad agreement regarding

the work of the Spirit. These commonalities are embedded in the liturgies and theological traditions of both communities.

24. Moving beyond the question of the *filioque*, the churches should give attention to enlarging the Church's theology of the Holy Spirit. The churches should manifest an openness to the experience of the Spirit, which could lead to actualization of the power of Christ's resurrection among the whole people of God.

B. The Naming of God

1. A series of questions were posed: How do we name God? Are there limits in the language of faith? How do we recognize and then overcome such limits? How does one understand the overwhelming masculine nature of the image conveyed in naming God "Father, Son and Holy Spirit"?

2. The Puritan tradition has spoken of God in anti-analogical fashion. Therefore, if God be King, then let there be no earthly kings or dominions. Under such a God creaturely life is life among a commonality of equals.

3. An analogical fashion of speaking would assume that if God be King, then earthly kings and dominions are archetypes of the heavenly superior. Under such a God, creaturely life would take on structures of subordination and superordination.

4. The *imago Dei* language presumes an analogy between creator and creature. More explicitly, the *imago Dei* is the *imago Trinitatis*. The divine community forms, informs and transforms the human community and personality. The *imago Trinitatis* shapes, sanctions, and challenges a specific community. Subordination within the divine community might be analogically used to justify subordination within the human community. Similarly, equality, solidarity and mutuality within the divine community might be used to challenge human communities to be as equal, as mutual, and as supportive.

5. Gender categories constitute only one kind of language in which *imago Dei* is expressed. Personal language for God need not be sexual; when it is, however, it should be balanced: male and female, masculine and feminine.

6. Many Western theologians felt that feminine ways of naming God should be accessible to all. The use of feminine names for God could be liberating both for men and women within various communities.

7. The triune God both embraces and extends beyond our categories of male and female.

8. The question was raised whether language about God could be anything but analogical? What about the form of address: "the God beyond knowing . . . whom we call Father"?

9. The names given God describe "person," that is, who God is, but also "relation," that is, how God is, both within the Godhead and in acting toward creatures.

10. Communion give varying weight to the names of God and their valence in identifying person or relation. Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory the Theologian maintain that all names of God describe activities of God, while the titles "Father" and "Son" have a different status signifying the eternal Persons of the Father and the Son.

11. Some churches name God in terms of what the creature can expect from God.

12. Feminist theologians of various confessional allegiances emphasize the relational significance of the titles. Insofar as the begetting function of God is the chief content of the name "Father," God may be named "Mother."

13. A suggestion was made that the real issue of language is not creed but Gospel.

14. Also of concern is how God names us in relation to the triune God, within the community of the faithful, and before the whole of creation. The relationship between who God is and who we are is dialogical. In communication with God we discover both who we are and who God is. This discovery forms our bearing toward God, ourselves, our communities, and our world.

15. All theological language is provisional and a mere human attempt to grasp the mystery. While formed and informed by tradition, theological language is also shaped by context. There must be a dynamic interaction between scripture, tradition, and context. The problem is to adjudicate among the possibly competing claims of each. The issue finally is one of discernment: which names are inspired by the Spirit? Which are not?

C. Creed and Experience

1. We recognize that the difficulties inherent in the *filioque* cannot be reduced simply to the conceptual. What is at issue is also the experience of the Spirit. Here experience is understood both as personal and ecclesial. This experience takes place within the context of a specific theological culture which differs from other authentic theological cultures. While recognizing the plurality of such cultures,

we also want to affirm the large area of shared faith in the Spirit.

2. If one proceeds from experience, then the *filioque*, and the larger trinitarian question, becomes increasingly problematic for large segments of the population, female but also male. Increased recognition of women's experience, and the unacceptability of a God presented in purely male categories, or in two-thirds male, one-third female, will help defuse a highly charged atmosphere in many churches.

3. Taking experience as a point of departure and looking at creedal statements such as the *filioque* some classical Pentecostals would regard creeds as expressions of "sectarianism," and "formalism," whether orthodox or not. Nevertheless, most classical Pentecostal churches have statements of faith, many of them borrowed from the historic creeds.

4. Some Pentecostal churches see their experience of the Spirit, including "the baptism in the Holy Spirit," as a significant ecumenical event, an invitation for the walls of sectarian denominationalism to fall.

5. Though classical Pentecostalism is no longer identified simply with the lower socio-economic groups (it now touches all classes), the presence of so many classical Pentecostal churches among the oppressed classes and ethnic minorities poses the question: has the experience of the Spirit of these groups been given the kind of theological and ecumenical attention it deserves.

6. The experience of the churches from the Holiness tradition contains elements which are typical of classical Pentecostal churches, such as an orientation to social justice issues, and a more gradual or growth approach to spiritual maturity. Like the classical Pentecostals, they are concerned that the agreement on the *filioque*, and on the broader issue of the Nicene Creed, will not adequately state the implications of life in the Spirit as viewed from their experience.

7. The presence of the charismatic renewal in so many of the historic churches has raised questions. There is recognition that charismatic groups within the historic churches have added to the quality of that church's spiritual experience. They have also posed a question to the churches about the nature of spiritual formation which the groups need to take seriously, even while it is recognized that such groups have at times been divisive.

8. Some charismatic Christians and some classical Pentecostal churches are impatient with the discussion on the *filioque* because they fail to see that there is anything experiential at stake. Therefore

they are inclined to see this particular discussion as too narrowly focused, an ecclesiological dispute from the past without the hope of it contributing to a richer understanding of God's presence among us now. Yet they would welcome reconciliation between the historic churches on this divisive issue.

9. It is known that many of the debated formulae in the doctrine of the Trinity and affirmations about the Holy Spirit were worked out in the midst of ecclesiastical and socio-political controversies. Trinitarian theology is the foundation for Christian anthropology and ecclesiology. Ecclesiology includes a normative theory of how God wants humans to live together in community. Thus it has implications for how Christian life is to be ordered in social, political, familial, and cultural communities.

D. Reflections and Recommendations

1) Participants were in general agreement that reception of the Klingenthal Memorandum and its recommendations by the churches represents the most hopeful path toward resolution of the *filioque* question.

2. What we share in regard to the trinitarian faith is greater than what divides us. East and West share a trinitarian faith which is expressed in the Nicene Creed, used by many of the churches.

3. Both East and West recognize that the Trinity is a mystery which exceeds all of our conceptual tools. Given the common faith of East and West excessive precision is to be avoided. There has been, since the fourth century, a general understanding that the specific quality which distinguishes the generation of the Son from the procession of the Spirit eludes us. We live with the lack of precision here. We are even warned against prying (Gregory the Theologian, *Fifth Theological Oration*, 8: "What, then, is procession? Do you tell me what is the unbegottenness of the Father, and I will explain to you the physiology of the generation of the Son and the procession of the Spirit, and we shall both of us be frenzy-stricken for prying into the mystery of God. And who are we to do these things, we who cannot even see what lies at our feet, or number the sand of the sea, or the drops of rain, or the days of eternity, much less enter into the depths of God, and supply an account of that nature which is so unspeakable and transcending all words.") Could not the same kind of imprecision be accepted with regard to the way the Son is involved in the procession of the Spirit from the Father? This is posed as a question to the churches rather than a demand.

4. The *filioque* question should not be isolated from its proper context, which is trinitarian doctrine. It should be seen that the doctrine of the Trinity is not a matter of heavenly metaphysics, but of the presence of the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit touching history and the Church. Beyond the scriptures the roots of trinitarian doctrine are Christian experience, piety, and liturgy. If trinitarian doctrine returns to these primary sources of Christian experience, and re-experiences the development of trinitarian doctrine in history, much will be done to bring the *filioque* question out of its isolation. The study project of the National Council's Faith and Order Commission is promising in this regard.

5. A renewal of trinitarian piety and theology will demonstrate that issues raised by the *filioque*, far from being an academic question, touches the deepest roots of theological formulation, liturgical practice, and pastoral life.

6. The churches need to look again at the way Christ and the Spirit (christology and pneumatology) stand in a relation of mutuality and reciprocity.

7. In approaching the *filioque* no attempt should be made to transfer what is proper in one theological culture to a different theological culture to which it is quite foreign.

8. It is the view of some that a more stringent and narrower agreement should not now be demanded than the chief participants at the time of the break up of the communion between the East and West were prepared to live with.

9. The West needs to recognize that the unilateral introduction of the *filioque* into the Creed, even given the differing ecclesiologies of East and West, was not only offensive at the time of its introduction, but continues to be so today. The West has failed to understand that this is not just to impose a Western theological view on the whole Church, but turns the Creed which has a unitive function, into a source of division. Nor do Westerners usually grasp the significance of the Creed for the East, where it plays a larger role than it has historically in the West. Further Westerners do not seem fully to grasp the offense when a liturgical text is changed without the consent of others to whom the text also belongs.

10. We recommend that the churches of the West allow their congregations, as an alternate, the liturgical use of the ancient text of the Creed before the addition of the *filioque*. This is looked upon as an interim, rather than a final, solution.

11. Both East and West recognize that there is a proper non-ontological subordination of the Spirit to the Son, as there is of the Son to the Father. What is not sufficiently realized in the West is that there is in Western theologies and piety a systematic subordination of the Spirit to the Son which does not give due respect to the mutuality and reciprocity which should exist between Christ and the Spirit. A thorough study of a wide variety of New Testament texts on the Spirit will be helpful in correcting this imbalance.

12. Both East and West need to recognize that one should not idealize one's own tradition, while caricaturing the other.

13. The Spirit is neither just an ornament of piety, nor liturgical tinsel. Attention should be given not only to relation of the Spirit to the Father and the Son, but to the role of the Spirit in creation, the political and economic orders. The Spirit should not be banished to the realm of piety, or imprisoned in liturgical formulations.

14. The issue of naming God is grave, and it touches the dignity of both women and men. No one should be under any illusion as to the deep seriousness of the issue. A solution calls for the involvement of women and men from the whole spectrum of academic and theological disciplines.

15. Though the state of the question of naming God was quite different in the fourth century, attention should be given to the norms established in the trinitarian, christological, and pneumatological controversies. For instance, Gregory the Theologian rejected the logic which says that God is male just because the vocabulary of "Father" is used. (Speaking somewhat in derision, Gregory asks, "Perhaps you would consider our God to be a male, according to the same arguments, because he is called God and Father . . ." *Fifth Theological Oration*, 7.)

16. Primary religious symbols which arise out of human experience are not unlimited and are not expendable. Therefore there is the necessity of preserving those that are central to the living tradition while at the same time purging them of oppressive elements.

17. The use of the *imago Trinitatis* as a model for naming God is to be commended. The exploration of such an avenue would be more fruitful if it were accompanied by a trinitarian ecclesiology, where equality of persons does not rule out diversity of functions and a measure of non-sexual subordination.

18. The traditional christological paradigm for ecclesiology should be set in its proper trinitarian context. Taking the trinitarian

community as a model enables one to see the pneumatological moment as co-constitutive of the Church. The pneumatological dimension does not belong to a second moment, as an energizer of an already existing structure. This more trinitarian model is also to be fostered because it provides ways of dealing with the question of authority and obedience.

19. Those from the historic churches who are somewhat new to the experiential pneumatology need to set aside preconceptions, and the supposition that the experiential can be communicated conceptually. While remaining true to their own ethos, an openness to both pre-literary and post-literary ways of approaching religious reality is to be encouraged.

20. Those from the classical Pentecostal and Holiness churches should explore ways of expanding their definition of experience. Many would find it helpful if they would communicate to other Christian brethren the wisdom they have found in the biblical hedges against an undisciplined experiential approach to God's presence in history. Their own wisdom and pastoral experience in this area is much more nuanced and sophisticated than is generally known.

21. The bearers of a more experiential pneumatology, such as the classical Pentecostals and the Holiness churches, belong integrally to the history of the Spirit. Without their presence, both formally and informally, in the theological dialogue, the ecumenical endeavor must necessarily remain truncated and impoverished.

22. The trinitarian discussions include the question of how normative ideas are related to the social fabric. Further discussion of the Holy Spirit and the apostolic faith need to include reflection on the various methodologies in dealing with this relationship, examination of the historical and social context of the formulations and the presumptions brought to the discussion by participating communions and their theologians. Ecclesiology, social theory and the basis for the political witness of the whole People of God need to be seen in their nuanced relationship to the trinitarian faith.

Ecclesiastical and Education Notes on Pontos and Asia Minor in the Year 1919." Markos A. Siotes examines "The Sermon on the Mount in the Literature of the Nineteenth Century," while Panagiotis K. Chrestou offers "Spiritual Activity on Mount Athos during the Turkokratia." Two other articles provide variety: "The Etymological Scheme and Its Syntax" by Stylianos Vasilopoulos and "The Structure of Matter: Is Science on the Right Track?" by Nikephoros Theodosiou. All in all, the volume furnishes material of much interest.

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Χαριστεῖον Σεραφεῖμ Τίκα, Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Πάσης Ἑλλάδος, ἐπὶ τῇ δεκαετηρίδι τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπείας αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τῇ τριακονταπενταετηρίδι τῆς ἀρχιεπατείας αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τῇ ἑβδομηκονταετηρίδι τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ [In Honor of Seraphim Tika, Archbishop of Athens and of All Greece on the Tenth Anniversary of his Archepiscopacy, the Thirty-fifth of his Episcopacy, and His Seventieth Birthday]. By J. M. Hatzephotes (ed.). Thessalonike: n.p., 1984. Pp. 628. Illustrated.

The present *festschrift* in honor of Seraphim Tikas, Archbishop of Athens and All Greece, consists of two parts. The first contains a biography of the Archbishop by John M. Hatziphotis and excerpts from Archbishop Seraphim's addresses. The second part is a collection of studies on Orthodox theology, the life and organization of the Church, and the history of the Greek nation.

The following articles are presented: Iakovos of America, "To the Macedonians"; Barnabas of Kitros, "An Article on the Holy Canons"; Panteleimon of Tyrol and Serention, "Church, Civilization, and Paideia"; Silas of New Jersey, "The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox Conscience of the People of Corfu"; Paul of Sweden, "The Canonical Collection: Pedalion"; Bartholomew of Philadelphia, "Vancouver and the Orthodox"; Christodoulos of Demetrias, "Spyridon Vlachos of Athens and the Old Calendarists"; Seraphim of Larissa, "The Holy Relics of the Saints according to the Books in Liturgical Use"; Anthony of Sisanion and Siatista, "Jesus, His Disciples, and the Movement of the Zealots"; D. J. Delivanis, "The Repercussions of the Differences of the Inflation's Intensity All Over

the World"; Panagiotis K. Chrestou, "Neohellenic Theology at the Crossroads" (also published in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 28 (1983) 39-54); Evangelos D. Sdrakas, "Jason of Pherai, the Herald of the Great Rushing Out of Ancient Hellenism"; George J. Theocharides, "The Komnenoi-Doukai of Epiros"; Gerasimos J. Konidares, "The Catholic Church in View of the Three Documents of the World Council of Churches and the Proposal of Lima on the Episcopate"; John Kalogerou, "Unity and Division in the Church"; Constantine A. Vavouskos, "Georg-Ludwig von Maurer and His Position vis-à-vis Contemporary Greek Church Affairs"; Anastasios N. Marinos, "The Meaning of 'Normality' in Relation to Religion, Especially within the Confines of the Greek Constitution"; Stephanos J. Papadopoulos, "Main Characteristics of the Wars for the Liberation of Greeks during the Time of Turkokratia"; Spyros Alexiou, "This Is Seraphim"; Spyridon Troianos, "The Nomocanonical Collection of Cod. Crypt of Zγ7"; Zacharias Tsirpanlis, "Merchants from Ioannina and the Commercial Politics of Venice (1720-1721)"; Theodore N. Zisis, "The Significance of Orthodox Pneumatology"; Charalambos K. Papastathis, "The Inalienability for the Ancient Eastern Patriarchates"; Vlasios J. Pheidas, "Criteria for the Explanation of the Constitutional Charter of the Church of Greece"; Athanasios A. Angelopoulos, "Organization of the Church of Greece, 1823 to the Present"; and Athanasios F. Karathanasis, "A Brief Account of Church Rhetoric during the Period of Turkokratia (16th-19th centuries)."

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Μνήμη Μητροπολίτου Ἰκονίου Ἰακώβου [In Memory of Metropolitan Iakovos of Ikonion]. By Basil N. Anagnostopoulos (ed.). Athens: n.p., 1984. Pp. 532. Illustrated.

Iakovos of Ikonion was born Eleftherios Stephanides, in the year 1916, in Istanbul, Turkey. He graduated from the Theological School of Chalke in 1938. He was ordained a deacon, being given the name Iakovos (1938), a priest (1947), and a bishop (1950). He first served as a deacon and archdeacon in the metropolis of Chalcedon (1938-1943) and later as a secretary of the Holy Synod (1943-1950) and as a Grand Vicar of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (1950-1951).

He was dean (1951-1955) and the professor of pastoral theology (1955-1960) at the Theological School of Chalke, and a member of the board of trustees of the school (1955). He also offered his services as a member of the Holy Synod (1954-1965) and on various synodical commissions. He died in the year 1965. The present volume is dedicated to his memory.

This volume comprises a number of studies and documents mainly related to Metropolitan Iakovos. A short biography is presented on pages 9-10, although additional biographical material is found in the letter of Patriarch Demetrios of Constantinople, the poem by Papaconstantinou, and articles by the Metropolitans Symeon, Nikodemos, and Parthenios, and elsewhere.

Twenty-six out of the twenty-nine authors of the volume are graduates of the Theological School of Chalke; seven were faculty members. The following are offered in memory of Metropolitan Iakovos: Demetrios of Constantinople, "Letter"; Demetrios K. Papaconstantinou, "In Memoriam"; Symeon of Eirenoupolis, "The Metropolitan of Ikonion Iakovos, A Sketch"; Nikodemos of Ierissos, "Iakovos of Ikonion . . ."; Emilianos of Selymbria, "The Tradition in the Contemporary World"; Paul of Sweden, "Synopsis and Epitomes of the Holy Canons in Byzantium"; Apostolos A. Glavinas, "Notes on the Holy Monastery of Eikosiphoinissa"; Aristarchos of Zenoupolis, "The Notion of Economy in the Greek Orthodox Church" (in English); Navkratios Tsoulkanakis, "Letters of Iakovos Mana from Argos Sent to the Teacher in Patmos, Makarios Kalogeras"; John Panagopoulos, "The Charismata of the Holy Spirit according to Saint Paul"; Athanasios of Helenopolis, "The Icon-painter Deacon Prokopios and His Paintings in the Churches of the Metropolis of Chalcedon"; Constantine B. Kallinikos, "The Problems of the Two Johns"; Gregorios Larentzakis, "Das Okumenische Patriarchat von Konstantinopel und Die Romische Katholische Kirche"; Iakovos Sofroniades, "The Office of the Holy Synod at the Ecumencial Patriarchate"; Vasil T. Istavrides, "The Holy Metropolis of Ikonion"; Methodios of Great Britain, "A Short Historical Note on the Immediate Successors of the Holy Apostles"; Evangelos of Perge, "Historical Notes on the Metropoles of Perge and Ikonion"; Theodore Nikolaou, "Eine Quellenkritische Untersuchung des Traktats (87) de Iconis der Questiones Quodlibetales und Seine Beteutung Hinsichtlich der Verurteilung von Johannes Italos"; Panayiotes Fouyas, "The Nature of Gods in Paganism"; Constantine of Derkoi, "Towards a Living Pastoral Theology"; Georges

T. Tsetsis, "Orthodox Presence in the World Council of Churches"; Maximos of Stavroupolis, "The Conscience according to Saint John Chrysostom"; Stylianos of Australia, "The Religious Element in the Heathen Language of the Greeks"; Parthenios of Carthage, "Relations of the Patriarchates of Constantinople and Alexandria"; Chrysostom of Myra (Konstantinides), "Authority in the Orthodox Church"; Bartholomew of Philadelphia, "The Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Constitution of Greece and in the Constitutional Charter of the Church of Greece"; Adamantios S. Anestides, "Neos Poimen"; Damaskinos of Switzerland (Papandreou), "Thoughts on the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381)"; Basil N. Anagnostopoulos, "The Necessity for the Readjustment of the Regulations on Fasting."

Vasil T. Istavrides
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Εἰς Μνήμην—In Memoriam

PROFESSOR SERGE VERHOVSKOY

Professor Serge Verhovskoy was an internationally known theologian. He was born in Russia in 1907. In 1921, he fled Russia through Prague and arrived in Paris where he studied at the Sorbonne. In 1944, he joined the theological faculty of the Orthodox Theological Institute "Saint Sergius" in Paris where he taught Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, Dogmatics and Christian Ethics. Since 1952, he was a member of the faculty of St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary where he taught Christian Ethics, and from 1955 to his retirement, taught Dogmatics. In 1906, he received the D.D. from St. Sergius Institute *Honoris Causa*. During the academic year of 1956-57 he was visiting Professor at the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey, Switzerland. His major works were *God and Man* (in Russian, New York, 1955), *Orthodoxy* (in Russian, New York, 1955), and *The Light of the World: Essays on Orthodox Christianity* (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1982).

Professor Verhovskoy wrote many scholarly articles on Orthodoxy. He represented the Orthodox Church on numerous international conferences including the N.C.C.C. and W.C.C. He was a popular teacher and sound Orthodox theologian, and very much involved in church life and in various committees of the Orthodox Church in America. Those of us who knew Professor Verhovskoy are richer for it.

May his memory be eternal.

George C. Papademetriou
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

Εἰς Μνήμην—In Memorium

PROFESSOR PANAGIOTES NELLAS

In May 1986, suddenly and unexpectedly, Dr. Panagiotēs Nellas died in Athens, Greece at the age of fifty. Still youthful and promising, he left behind him a great vacuum among the serious and creative theologians of contemporary Greece.

He was born in Lamia, Thessaly, and studied at the University of Athens and at St. Sergius Orthodox Theological School in Paris. In 1974, he received his Doctorate in Theology from the University of Athens. He also served in different capacities as a theological consultant of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and of the Church of Greece. Not well known in America, because of the barrier of language, he was well known in Greece and Europe as one of the most original, productive, and inspiring lay theologians of recent decades.

Dr. Nellas belonged to the younger generation of lay theologians who in their youth had become members of the famous “Zoe” movement. Not satisfied with the “pietistic” spirit and the Westernized methodology of the “Zoe” brotherhood, he turned to the “roots” and “sources” of the Church, that is to say, to the Fathers of the Church, in order to find the true identity of Orthodoxy and to make it relevant to our times.

There is no doubt, Dr. Nellas stood firmly on solid biblical and patristic grounds, and personally experienced the life of the Church within its ecclesiological parameters. His doctoral thesis, bearing the title, *Zoon Theoumenon* [Deified Living Being], a beautiful expression taken from Saint Gregory the Theologian, offers an original Orthodox perspective and understanding of man, again based on biblical

and patristic grounds.

Starting from the patristic understanding of the original fall of man, Nellas stresses Saint Gregory of Nyssa's theory of the fallen man as bearing the "skin coats" (*dermatinoi hitones*), which are the profound repercussions of original sin on mankind. He describes how God's love transformed the fall and death into medicine for salvation, incorruptibility, and deification. Of course, Christ's incarnation brought about the glorified image of God in man, so that man in the Holy Spirit returns to his original blessedness. Dr. Nellas contribution here is that he fully recognizes that these "skin coats," which compose the central functions of human life, marriage, learning, profession, etc., are transformed through God's interference towards a constructive Christian life, and thus lead to positive steps towards the ultimate goal of man—deification. In other words, Dr. Nellas, through the eyes of the Fathers, sees the positive and fruitful aspects of this life and world. To be sure, the worldly things liberated from the "unlawful autonomy" and from slavery to the devil can become Christian and serve both the Christian Church and Christian theology. Moreover, Dr. Nellas, in addition to putting contemporary Orthodox theology on redeeming Orthodox anthropological grounds, deals more extensively and courageously with the question of why Christ was incarnated, why he became man, why his sacrifice was necessary for our salvation. He supercedes the Western axis of "sin-redemption," and proposes the patristic axis of "creation-theosis."

Dr. Nellas' great interest in the Fathers is demonstrated by his editing of works of Saints Maximos the Confessor, John of Damascus, and especially of Saint Nicholas Kabasilas, whom he respected greatly and made a special study. In addition, since 1982, Dr. Nellas edited the famous bi-monthly periodical *Synaxe*, an excellent journal which has been host to young and promising Orthodox theologians who are able to delve into and interpret the spirit of the Scriptures and the Fathers in a provocative way.

It was inevitable that Dr. Nellas would have detractors. He has been characterized as neo-Orthodox, accused of advocating a classless society, and encouraging a dialogue between Orthodoxy and Marxism. This may be true and, if so, it abounds to his credit because he had the spiritual stamina to dialogue with the world and to offer thankless economic "pseudo-conservatism" of our time an Orthodox stand.

We owe much to Dr. Nellas. He tried to make Orthodox theology, in its ecclesio-eucharistic perspective, a living reality for our time.

Still young, he left this world to meet his Lord, Christ Jesus, whom he loved much and deeply. May his memory be eternal and his example remembered. May his soul shine in the heavenly kingdom of God.

George S. Bebis

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Books Received

Sam Amirtham and S. Wesley Ariarajah (eds.). *Ministerial Formation in a Multifaith Milieu: Implications of Interfaith Dialogue for Theological Education*. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1986. Pp. vi + 122. \$4.95, paper.

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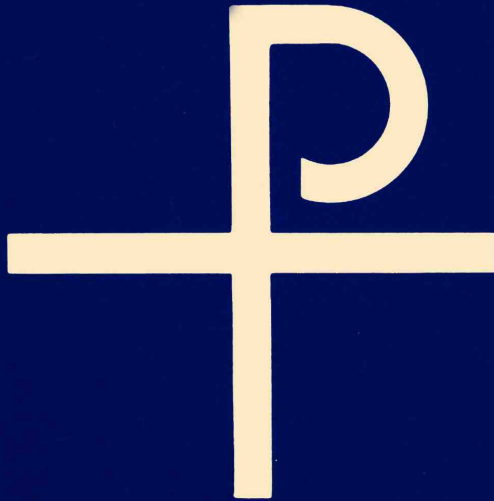
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**The
Greek
Orthodox
Theological
Review**

**Orthodox Christians
and Muslims**



**Volume 31
Numbers 1-2
Spring-Summer 1986**

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Contents

Editor's Note N. M. VAPORIS	ix
Welcome ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS	1
Greetings THOMAS C. LELON	3
 ARTICLES	
Introduction: Orthodox Christians and Muslims in Dialogue GEORGE C. PAPADEMETRIOU	5
The Importance of Orthodox Christian-Muslim Dialogue METROPOLITAN CONSTANTINE OF DERKON	9
Eastern Orthodoxy and Islam: An Historical Overview ROBERT M. HADDAD	17
Muslim and Byzantine Christian Relations: Letter of Paul of Antioch and Ibn Taymīyah's Response MUZAMMIL H. SIDDIQI	33
What an Infidel Saw that a Faithful Did Not: Gregory Dekapolites (d. 842) and Islam DANIEL J. SAHAS	47
The Word of God in Islam MAHMOUD MUSTAFA AYOUB	69
The Word of God in Orthodox Christianity BISHOP MAXIMOS AGHIORGOUSSIS	79

Jews, Christians, and Muslims According to the Qur'ān ABSULAZIZ A. SACHEDINA	105
Philoponos and Avicenna on the Separability of the Intellect: A Case of Orthodox Christian-Muslim Agreement DIMITRI GUTAS	121
Islam and Bioethics OSMAN BAKAR	131
Orthodoxy Christianity and Bioethics STANLEY S. HARAKAS	155
Ottoman Views and Policies Toward the Orthodox Christian Church KEMAL H. KARPAT	185
The Prayer of the Heart in Hesychasm and Sufism SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR	195
REVIEWS	
Michael Pomazansky. <i>Orthodox Dogmatic Theology: A Concise Exposition.</i> (BISHOP CHRYSOSTOMOS)	205
<i>An Explorer of Realms of Art, Life, and Thought: A Survey of the Works of Philosopher and Theologian Constantine Cavarnos.</i> (BISHOP CHRYSOSTOMOS)	210
Georgios I. Mantzaridis. <i>The Deification of Man: St. Gregory Palamas and the Orthodox Tradition.</i> (GEORGE C. PAPADEMETRIOU)	211
Peter C. Phan. <i>Social Thought: Message of the Fathers of the Church.</i> (GEORGE C. PAPADEMETRIOU)	213

Nicholas Ch. Kladopoulos. <i>Ἡ Γνώσις τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ Διονύσιον τὸν Ἀρεοπαγίτην (Knowledge of God According to Dionysios the Areopagite).</i> (GEORGE C. PAPADEMETRIOU)	215
Rita J. Burns. <i>Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers.</i> (KENNETH M. CRAIG, JR.)	216
John Craghan. <i>The Psalms: Prayers for the Ups, Downs and In-Betweens of Life.</i> (KENNETH M. CRAIG, JR.)	218
N. Lungu, G. Costea, and I. Croitoru. <i>A Guide to the Music of the Eastern Orthodox Church.</i> (NICHOLAS A. KASTANAS)	219
BOOK NOTES (VASIL T. ISTAVRIDIS)	221
BOOKS RECEIVED	226

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Editor's Note

THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM SYMPOSIUM

The Greek Orthodox Theological Review enthusiastically welcomes the opportunity to publish the excellent papers read at the historic symposium, held at Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in March 1985. This was indeed an historic meeting when one considers that Orthodox Christians have known and have interacted with Muslims since the seventh century, and that this encounter has taken place on all continents, save possibly Australia. One can only hope that this symposium can be attributed to other reasons than "only in America," for it is obvious that Muslims and Orthodox Christians have much to learn from each other despite their fourteen-centuries-old acquaintanceship.

Moreover, the symposium held in Brookline proved to be so enlightening for all participants—thankfully, even in ways beyond the academic—that one can only hope that it will be followed by many others both here and abroad.

In preparing the papers for publication, I have had the benefit of the generous assistance of Professor Robert Haddad of Smith College whom I wish to thank. Finally, it should be noted that for technical reasons, we have employed a sign that resembles the Greek *circumflex* for the *macron* sign over the transliterated Arabic words.

N. M. Vaporis

Welcome

ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

I CORDIALLY SALUTE and welcome each of you to the annual symposium, held each year at our School of Theology and College in honor of one of the greatest ecumenists of our era, Patriarch Athenagoras I.

In the courtyard of the school's chapel stands a statue of Patriarch Athenagoras. The statue has two main features: the impressive figure of the Patriarch holding the "Chalice of Reconciliation"; and the base of the statue which appears cracked, symbolizing the division within Christianity and the people of the earth. As we look at the statue, we are reminded of the Patriarch, with his soul-penetrating eyes, searching the future. In his presence we have a memory and a message that stimulates us in our quest for unity.

I am grateful to the faculty of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology for its inspired decision to dedicate this year's "Patriarch Athenagoras Lectureship" to Orthodox Christianity and Islam. These religious traditions lived side by side for so many centuries in what was once the Ottoman Empire, a dominion comprising the lands from Egypt and North Africa to the Bosphoros and the Dardenelles. Their common denominator, the faith in one God, in one Supreme Being, in whom we all exist, we move, and we have our being, has enabled Christians and Muslims to develop mutual respect and tolerance for one another and set the example of what we call today "coexistence."

Today, in our ever-changing and ever-challenging world, Christians are seeking unity, while Muslims are witnessing a worldwide resurgence. Within this setting, we are experiencing an urgent need to approach one another, to understand each other, and to see if we

can reach a common understanding as to the role religion can play in a terribly turbulent society. Sacred wars and fanaticism resolve nothing. Men and women everywhere are looking for peace, security, and humanitarian coexistence.

I am certain that the notable participants in this symposium will address these and other social issues with an enlightened soul, illuminated by the ageless principles of love and justice—the fundamental values that underlie both of our traditions and their adherents.

Let me hope that this symposium will offer nourishment and hope, not only to theologians and historians, but to the hearts of all those present and those absent.

May the Spirit of God guide you in your deliberations.

Greetings

THOMAS C. LELON

THE SYMPOSIUM ON Orthodox Christianity and Islam is an historic occasion for all of us. It is the first such symposium to be held in the history of our institution; it is, I hope, the beginning of a new era—one of dialogue, as can be seen in the title of the keynote address: “The Importance of Orthodox Christian-Muslim Dialogue,” to be given by the Most Reverend Constantine, Metropolitan of Derkon and President of the Patriarchal Synodical Commission on the Dialogue with Islam.

This event is a unique opportunity for us to listen to each other openly and sympathetically, to understand each other precisely, to transcend our own boundaries, and to learn from each other as much from “within” as possible.

For these three days, we will all gather as one community in a spirit of inquiry to engage in the dialogue which covers a wide range of interreligious and intertheological issues. During our dialogue, we must recognize our areas of mutual interest and those differences that truly make a difference.

I wish to thank the Rev. Dr. George Papademetriou, Coordinator and Chairperson of the symposium, and the Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology faculty for their efforts in this endeavor.

I extend to you a very warm welcome to Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

Book Notes

Ἐπισκοπικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Καλύμνου. By George Charamantas. Kalymnos, Greece: n.p., 1983. Pp. 232. Paper.

This is a biographical history of the hierarchs who have served as metropolitans of (Leros and) Kalymnos, since the issuance of the special patriarchal and synodical tomos of 1888 by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The following hierarchs are treated: Chrysanthos the Byzantine—1888-1894, Anthimos Tsatsos—1894-1895, Sophronios Christides—1895-1897, Ioannes Apostolou—1897-1903, Germanos Theotokas—1903-1918, Apostolos Kavakopoulos—1918-1946, Isidoros Aidonopoulos—1950-1983, and Nektarios Hatzimichales—1983-present.

Through the biographies of the hierarchs, the history of the Church of Kalymnos comes alive as well.

Vasil T. Istavridis
Chalke, Turkey

Ἑλληνικὴ Θεολογικὴ Βιβλιογραφία, τεῦχος, τρίτον, Βιβλιογραφία Ἑτους 1979 καὶ Παραλειπόμενα 1977, 1978. By Adamantios S. Anestides (ed.). Athens, 1982. Pp. xxx + 480. Paper. Supplement of the journal *Theologia*, 52 (1981).

This is the third volume of the bibliography of Greek theological publications which was compiled under the direction of Constantine G. Bonis as a supplement to *Theologia*. It provides the works published in 1979, as well as some supplementary citations for 1977 and 1978. In addition to a prologue by Bonis, there is an introduction by the editor, Adamantios S. Anestides. As in the case of the two previous numbers of the same bibliography, the editor presents his views in the Introduction, pointing to the difficulties one meets in the course of this type of work, especially in Greece.

Vasil T. Istavridis
Chalke, Turkey

Ἑλλαδικοῦ αὐτοκεφάλου παραλειπόμενα. Μελέτη ἱστορικοφιλολογική. By George D. Metallinos. Athens: n.p., 1983. Pp. 265. Paper.

The present work is mainly a compendium of documents related to the problem and the period of the autocephaly of the Church of Greece from the Ecumenical Patriarchate (1833-1850). Each document is preceded by an historical and literary introduction, followed by notes and conclusions. The three major parts are entitled "An Unknown Plan for the Autonomy of the Ionian Church," "Unity and Autocephaly in Orthodoxy," and "The End of the Greek Drama."

Institutions such as the Church of Greece, the Greek State, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and personalities such as Constantine Typaldos-Iakovatos, Constantine Oikonomos, Misael Apostolides, and Theokletos Pharmakides are focused upon in this study.

Because of the services rendered by Constantine Typaldos-Iakovatos, later Metropolitan of Stavroupolis, as the first dean of the Theological School of Chalke (1844-1964), the work of Father George Metallinos is also valuable with regard to the history of the Theological School of Chalke.

Vasil T. Istavridis
Chalke, Turkey

Orthodox Thought: Reports of Orthodox Consultations Organized by the World Council of Churches, 1975-1982. Ed. George Tsetsis. Geneva: The World Council of Churches, 1983. Pp. 96. Paper.

Twelve Orthodox preparatory consultations for the Sixth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1983 at Vancouver, Canada, were called by the related offices of the Council and the Orthodox Task Force at the Ecumenical Center, Geneva, Switzerland, in cooperation with local Orthodox Churches between the years 1975-1982. These consultations defined the Orthodox positions and responses to matters coming up for discussion at various ecumenical gatherings. These same reports were used as source material for Vancouver.

This new cooperation of Orthodoxy with the World Council of Churches, begun in 1974, can be considered to be parallel to the

various meetings of delegates of member churches within the wider spectrum of the World Council of Churches.

Vasil T. Istavridis
Chalke, Turkey

Βανκούβερ 1983. Μία πρώτη αξιολόγησης τῆς Στ. Γενικῆς Συνελεύσεως τοῦ Παγκοσμίου Συμβουλίου τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν. By George Tsetsis. Athens: n.p., 1984. Pp. 35. Paper.

In this study the author discusses the work of the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, which met at Vancouver (Canada) from July 24 to August 10, 1983.

Included are the views of the Orthodox participants at the assembly. They were Bartholomaios of Philadelphia, Parthenios of Carthage, Elie Melia, Nikos Nissiotis, Alexandros Papaderos, and Georges Demopoulos. Also included is the report made by the patriarchal delegation to the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Vasil T. Istavridis
Chalke, Turkey

Dositheos Patriarch of Jerusalem. By Irenaios Delidemos. Thessalonike: n.p., 1982. Pp. 56.

Dositheos (Skarpetes) of Jerusalem (1669-1707) was born in the year 1641 in Arachova of the Peloponnesos. Although self-taught, he acquired an encyclopedic education especially in the area of theology. He was ordained deacon in 1656 and priest and bishop in 1666. While only twenty-eight years of age, he was translated from the see of Caesaria in Palestine to Jerusalem (1669).

In fifty pages, the author presents a concise biography of Dositheos, using information provided by his nephew, who also became patriarch of Jerusalem (Chrysanthos Notaras, 1662/1707-1731) and by other authors, old and new.

Dositheos was the greatest patriarch of Jerusalem after the fall of Constantinople, a pan-Orthodox personality, a systematic theologian, and one of the most eminent authors not only of the seventeenth

century but of the entire Ottoman period. Father Delidemos discusses the possibility of numbering Dositheos among the saints of the Orthodox Church. There is definitely a need for a scholarly monograph on this great man.

Vasil T. Istavridis
Chalke, Turkey

Ἡ Πέργη τῆς Παμφυλίας. Συμβολή στὴν πολιτικὴ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως. By Evangelos Galanis. Thessalonike: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1983. *Analecta Vlatadon*, Vol. 40. Pp. 236. Paper.

This is a doctoral dissertation submitted to the School of Theology of the Aristotelian University of Thessalonike by the metropolitan of Perge, Evangelos Galanis. This work presents a general overview of the history of Perge (present-day Turkey) and a study of Christianity in that metropolis. In addition, various indices, maps, and illustrations are provided as well as a rich bibliography.

The author graduated from the Theological School of Chalke, was ordained a deacon the same year (1953), and served in various capacities at the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the Phanar, Istanbul, Turkey. He was elected a metropolitan in 1970. At present, he is a member of the Holy Synod and of several synodical commissions of the Patriarchate.

Vasil T. Istavridis
Chalke, Turkey

Τό Μοναστήρι τῆς Ἀγίας Ἀναστασίας τῆς Φαρμακολυτρίας. By Apostolos A. Glavinas. Thessalonike: Aristotelian University of Thessalonike, 1983. Pp. 125. Paper.

Besides the Monastery of Patmos, the monastic community of Mount Athos, and the Monastery of the Vlatadon in Thessalonike, the Monastery of Saint Anastasia in Chalkidike is the fourth monastic foundation having direct spiritual dependence on the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. For that reason publications related

to the study of the above mentioned institutions are always of special interest.

The present book comprises two parts. The first deals with the history of the monastery, while the second includes documents directly related to it.

Vasil T. Istavridis
Chalke, Turkey

Ἡ Διεκκλησιαστική συνεργασία στὴν Ἑλλάδα, Ἐκθεσις πεπραγμένων τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς Διεκκλησιαστικῆς Βοηθείας τοῦ Παγκοσμίου Συμβουλίου τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν. By George Tsetsis. Athens: n.p., 1983. Pp. 36. Illustrated. Paper.

Father George Tsetsis, grand protopresbyter of the Ecumenical Patriarchate is presently its representative to the Geneva-based World Council of Churches. He was the acting deputy director of the World Council of Churches Inter-Church Aid Commission (CICARWS) and the moderator of the Orthodox Task Force of the World Council of Churches at the Ecumenical Center, Geneva, Switzerland. His writings on the Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Movement are growing in number.

The present report provides information regarding the work of the Church of Greece, in cooperation with the World Council of Churches, in the areas of church diakonia and love towards others. The areas covered are: the strengthening of church foundations, ecumenical assistance in times of urgent need, support of theological education, and the aid and rehabilitation of refugees.

The total amount of aid offered by the World Council of Churches to the Church of Greece (1946-1982) reached the sum of \$70,000. On its side, the Orthodox Church of Greece reciprocated by sending its yearly dues to the World Council of Churches, by offering hospitality to the meetings of the Council and to visitors coming from Geneva, and giving scholarships to several students. The Church of Greece has also offered relief to countries and churches struck by famine and other catastrophes.

Vasil T. Istavridis
Chalke, Turkey

Books Received

Vladimir Berzonsky. *The Gift of Love*. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985. Pp. 181. \$6.95, paper.

Emilio Castro. *Sent Free. Mission and Unity in the Perspective of the Kingdom*. The Risk Book Series, No. 23. Geneva: WCC Publications, 1985. Pp. 102. Paper.

Constantine Cavarinos. *St. Cosmas Aitolos*. Modern Orthodox Saints 1. 3rd. ed. Belmont, MA.: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1985. Pp. 118. Paper.

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Les dialogues oecuméniques hier et aujourd'hui. Les Études Théologiques de Chambésy. Chambésy-Geneve: Editions Du Centre Orthodoxe Du Patriarcat Oecuménique, 1985. Pp. 415. 50 SFR.

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Ignatius IV Patriarch of Antioch. *The Resurrection and Modern Man*. Trans. Stephen Biggam. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985. Pp. 96. \$3.95, paper.

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Michael Kinnamon. *Why it Matters. A Popular Introduction to the Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry Text*. The Risk Book Series, No. 25. Geneva: WCC Publications, 1985. Pp. 72. Paper.

George A. F. Knight. *The New Israel: A Commentary on the Book of Isaiah 56-66*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1985. Pp. 126. \$5.95, paper.

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Joan Puls, O.S.F. *Every Bush is Burning. A Spirituality for Our Times*. The Risk Book Series, No. 24. Geneva: WCC Publications, 1985. Pp. 102. Paper.

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Daniel J. Sahas. *Icon and Logos: Sources in Eighth-Century Iconoclasm. An Annotated Translation of the Sixth Session of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Nicea, 787), Containing the Definition of the Council of Constantinople (754) and its Refutation and the Definition of the Seventh Ecumenical Council*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986. Pp. 215. \$37.50, cloth.

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Theodoret of Cyrrihus. *A History of the Monks of Syria*. Trans. with an Introduction and Notes by R. M. Price. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1985. Pp. 223. \$26.95, cloth; \$10.00, paper.

Lars Thunberg. *Man and the Cosmos. The Vision of St. Maximus the Confessor*. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985. Pp. 184. \$8.95, paper.

Diane H. Touliatos-Banker. *The Byzantine Amomos Chant of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. *Analecta Vlatadon* 46. Thessalonike: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1984. Pp. 284. Cloth.

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The Holy Spirit and the Apostolic Faith: A Roman Catholic Response

FRANCINE CARDMAN

TAKEN ON THE TERMS WHICH IT SETS FOR ITSELF, the *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ* volume makes it unnecessary to repeat or revise the work of the consultations which it represents.¹ Numerous other recent studies, which need not occupy us here, corroborate its conclusions, expand on its main themes, and provide more extensive documentation of its historical and theological arguments.² What I intend to do, then, is to comment on some of the themes summarized in the Klingenthal memorandum, raise questions on some specific points, and evaluate its recommendations.

(1). The question of *use*—actual, experienced, Sunday to Sunday use—of the Nicene Creed is a fundamental question to be addressed to the work on the *filioque* controversy and, indeed, to the Apostolic

¹*Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ: Ecumenical Reflections on the Filioque Controversy*, ed. L. Vischer, Faith and Order Paper No. 103 (Geneva, 1981). References to the Klingenthal memorandum and the essays in this volume will be given by page number in parentheses in the text.

²Yves Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 3 vols., trans. D. Smith (New York, 1983); *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*, Atti del Congresso Teologico Internazionale di Pneumatologia, 2 vols. (Rome, 1983); see also the essays in *Conflicts About the Holy Spirit*, eds. H. Küng and J. Moltmann, Concilium 128 (New York, 1979).

Faith Study as a whole. In order to evaluate the significance of efforts to resolve the ancient and acrimonious controversy over the *filioque*, it is necessary to assess the importance that the Creed and the question of the Spirit's procession have for the life of the churches today. Is the question largely an academic matter, the concern of theologians, ecumenists and bureaucrats? As far as it is a live question for ordinary churchgoers, is work done on the level of Faith and Order likely to affect either experience or attitudes? If so, how? In a sense, this is simply the question again of *reception*—of any ecumenical work, convergence or text. But it is reception with a poignant twist, as the churches are being asked, in effect, to receive for a second time the deliberations of an ecumenical council (accepting the Symbol of Nicaea and Constantinople as the ecumenical expression of the apostolic faith) and, by so doing, simultaneously to resolve a long-standing conflict.

The introductory remarks to the memorandum (p. 3) recognize the question of use, as does recommendation C (p. 16), though not as much significance is given to it as I find necessary. On the one hand, this is, I think, at least a *Roman Catholic* concern that I am presenting, insofar as it touches on the continuing authority of tradition in the life of the Church. But it is also an *ecumenical* concern, insofar as it pertains to the eventual fruitfulness of the present work of Faith and Order. It can be argued that the three current projects (the reception of the *Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry* document, the study *Toward a Common Confession of the Apostolic Faith*, and the *Unity of the Church/Renewal of Human Community* study) represent a summing up of this century's efforts at visible unity via the pathway of Faith and Order. Indeed, many would hope that this summing up would be widely received by the turn of the century/millennium, as a prelude to more concrete steps and structures to manifest the unity of the Church. For this to happen, the question of use and the process of reception must be attended to most carefully in each of these three areas.

(2) In regard to the *filioque* controversy, the Klingenthal memorandum and its supporting papers clearly acknowledge the importance as well as the limitations of historical understanding of the theological and controversial development of the question. Deepened understandings of our divisive history on this matter must, moreover, be viewed in the context of a much broader shared faith in the Holy

Spirit³ and a renewed interest in pneumatology in almost all the churches. Placed in this context, the work on the *filioque* represents a significant advance, for once the historical circumstances and theological intentions of the clause and its insertion into the Creed are understood and generally agreed on, it then becomes possible to consider a return to the original wording of the Creed.

(3) Likewise, locating the *filioque* discussion in the context of trinitarian faith and theology as it has developed in the Church's experience makes it possible to appreciate the degree of shared faith as well as to measure the extent of genuine difference realistically. Thus, it would help to alleviate over-emphasis on Jesus in some kinds of Christian spirituality if the "full and constant reciprocity of the incarnate Word and the Holy Spirit" (p. 9) were more carefully and consistently attended to, especially in catechesis and preaching. The warning not to carry too far the conceptual distinctions between the economic and immanent Trinity, or the temporal mission and eternal procession is well taken. If anything, this point needs to be made even more strongly and observed more consistently, particularly in regard to some of the theological reflections in the fourth section of the memorandum.

(4) In its treatment of the place of the Son in relation to the procession of the Holy Spirit, the memorandum appears to have taken to heart its own admonition that our reflections on the immanent Trinity must be guided by the revelation of the economic Trinity. By failing to heed its own advice when considering the Spirit's role in the generation of the Son, however, the Klingenthal statement seems to have violated this principle. One is left with the impression that it is only in the earthly begetting of the Son that the Spirit plays a role, but not in the eternal generation. Two tantalizing phrases from the memorandum's list (p. 16) of possible alternative formulations for the relationship of Spirit and Son therefore deserve further reflection and development: "the Spirit proceeds from the Father and rests on the Son"; and "the Spirit proceeds from the Father and shines out through the Son."

A second problem arises in the way in which the Klingenthal

³ As Andre de Halleux points out in "Towards an Ecumenical Agreement on the Procession of the Holy Spirit and the Addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed," *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, pp. 74-75. See also Michael Fahey, "Son and Spirit: Divergent Theologies between Constantinople and the West," *Conflicts About the Holy Spirit*, pp. 15-16.

statement appears to give temporal priority to the generation of the Son in the inner-trinitarian life, despite disclaimers in this regard and acknowledgment of eastern difficulties with any suggestion of temporal priority (p. 15). By emphasizing that it is "the Father of the Son" from whom the Spirit proceeds (pp. 13-15), the memorandum appears to reinforce a position it claims to want to exclude. The statement asserts that "*it should be said* that the procession of the Spirit from the Father *presupposes* [emphasis mine] the relationship existing within the Trinity between the Father and the Son, for the Son is eternally in and with the Father, and the Father is never without the Son" (p. 15). Should it not, then, also be said that the generation of the Son presupposes the relationship existing within the Trinity between the Father and the Spirit, since the Spirit is eternally in and with the Father (is the Spirit of God as well as the Spirit of Christ),⁴ and the Father is never without the breath and love of the Spirit?

(5) Finally, the Klingenthal memorandum rightly concludes that the *filioque* question must be placed in the even broader context of the revitalization and reappropriation of trinitarian theology in the life of the churches, and not only among theologians and ecumenists. Only then will Faith and Order work on the question begin to bear lasting fruit.

Recommendations to the NCCC

A. That the process of education for reception be recognized as twofold: as flowing from Faith and Order and its participants to their churches; and, perhaps more importantly, from the churches to Faith and Order. By acting on this recognition in its own response to the Apostolic Faith study, the NCCC can model for the WCC the far-more contextual, grassroots or listening approach that this study and the *filioque* project still require.

B. That the NCCC develop materials for use in parishes and local churches to evoke and foster the understanding and expression of trinitarian faith in worship, in communal structures and patterns of

⁴This despite Moltmann's assertion that "God the Father is always the Father of the Son. He is never simply 'universal Father'. . . He is not called 'Father' merely because he is the unique cause on whom all things depend" (p. 167). Similarly, "the Father is in eternity solely the Father of the Son. He is not the Father of the Spirit" (ibid).

relationship within the Church, in spirituality, and in mission. Particular though not exclusive attention should be given to the person and work of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church and the individual believer.

C. That the NCCC recommend to its member churches that the original text of the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople (i.e., without the *filioque*) be accepted as the common form of this historical confession of the apostolic faith. Further, that churches that do not (or only rarely) use the Creed in their worship be encouraged to include it on suitable occasions and with some regularity. At the same time it follows that churches that use the Creed exclusively in their liturgical celebrations should be encouraged to find opportunities in their common prayer for more contemporary confessions of the apostolic faith as well.

D. That the NCCC, in its dealings with its member churches, and especially in its response to Faith and Order, urge that the Apostolic Faith study give more serious and sustained attention to the recommendations addressed to it from the Community of Women and Men in the Church study. In particular, emphasis should be placed on the Community study's restatement of the question of acceptance of the Creed: "Are the language, thought and imagery of the Nicene Creed sufficiently inclusive to keep together the community of women and men . . .?" In other words, "Is it possible for the *community of women and men* [emphasis mine], the earthly form of the body of Christ, to accept the Nicene Creed?"⁵

As its recommendations suggest, the Community study has implications for every article of the Creed. In regard to this consultation on the Holy Spirit, two points are of particular importance. The first is the Community study's recommendation that "the trinitarian language of the Creed needs particularly careful investigation," especially in regard to the adequacy of what many perceive as the exclusive terminology of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and the possibility of "new terms for confessing our belief in the Holy Trinity."⁶ In its own work on the Apostolic Faith study, then, the NCCC should

⁵"The Community Study and Apostolic Faith: Memorandum from the Working Group on the Community of Women and Men in the Church," in *Towards Visible Unity*, Commission on Faith and Order, Lima 1982, Faith and Order Paper No. 112 (Geneva, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 47, 48.

⁶*Ibid.*

continue to make it a priority to address the question of language and imagery with all the care and resources at its disposal. The second is a point that I would add: that the role of the Holy Spirit in the inspiration and empowerment of women and other powerless persons and groups within the churches should be explored in its historical manifestations and its contemporary ramifications. This would involve considering questions of authority and community, as well as structures of ministry and decision-making in relation to the work of Spirit.

E. That the NCCC take an active role, not only in the United States but at the World Council level as well, in the development and implementation of the second phase of the Apostolic Faith study, "towards the common explication of this apostolic faith in the contemporary situation of the churches." In particular, it should seek to ensure that this phase of the study employs a contextual and grass-roots methodology modeled after the Community of Women and Men and the Giving an Account of Hope studies.

F. That the NCCC recognize that the most important contribution that the churches of the United States can make to the Apostolic Faith project is to help keep it firmly grounded in the real world of faith today and related to the pressing concerns of persons and groups who had no part in the process of creedmaking in the early Church. Indeed, if the experience of the Church in the sociopolitical context of the fourth century teaches us anything, it is that creeds by themselves do not suffice to safeguard either the unity of the Church or the inclusiveness of its community.

Roman Catholic Recommendations and Concerns

All the above recommendations to the NCCC should be taken to apply to the member churches and to the Roman Catholic Church as well. Here I want to raise some concerns and make some recommendations that apply specifically to the Roman Catholic Church.

A. That the Roman Catholic Church, through the appropriate bodies, restore the original text of the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople in its liturgical books and other usages.

By returning to the original text, without the *filioque*, one important step toward healing the divisions between the churches of the West and those of the East will have been taken. In addition to expressing good faith and humility, such action would also reflect

and encourage the mutual renewal of trinitarian theology throughout the churches. Advances in both historical and theological understanding now make such a move possible. The historical evidence about the manner in which the *filioque* came to be incorporated into the Creed in the West suggests that, while there may have been theological motivations for the regional use of the phrase, it was largely a matter of historical accident that this text of the Creed spread throughout the Carolingian empire in the early ninth century and was adopted into Roman usage several centuries later. Similarly, contemporary theological developments and convergences have made it possible to recognize the shortcomings of both controverted positions as customarily expounded, and to argue strongly for returning to the original text of the Creed as formulated at Constantinople in 381 and affirmed and acknowledged as the standard confession of faith at Ephesus in 381 and Chalcedon in 451.

In 1981 John Paul II demonstrated graphically his desire to restore the original text by twice quoting the article on the Holy Spirit without the *filioque*. In his letter to the Roman Catholic bishops' conferences asking them to send representatives to Rome for Pentecost ceremonies that year, the Pope announced his intention of commemorating the 1600th anniversary of the Council of Constantinople and, in particular, its heritage of doctrine on the Holy Spirit. He then quoted the text of 381: "I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father. With the Father and the Son he is worshiped and glorified. He has spoken through the prophets." John Paul's remarks for the Pentecost celebration, which he was unable to attend due to his injuries in the assassination attempt, repeated the point made in the letter:

We wish to confess with a loud cry of our voices and our hearts the truth that sixteen centuries ago the First Council of Constantinople formulated and expressed in the words we know so well. We wish to express that truth as it was then expressed: "We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father. With the Father and the Son he is worshiped and glorified. He has spoken through the prophets."

The quotation from the Creed was given first in Greek and then in Latin—not the familiar text of medieval and later liturgies, but the

Latin formula from the fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon.⁷

In both these documents John Paul repeatedly punctuated his text with the phrase "Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, dominum et vivificantem." And except for the explicit reference to returning to the ancient formula, no direct mention is made of the *filioque* as a point of contention between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Indeed, the very downplaying of the *filioque* in the Pope's remarks argues that he, at least, does not consider it an obstacle to unity.

Additional support for returning to the ancient formula follows from the treatment of the Creed in the modern Greek version of the Roman rite today. There, the Byzantine text of the Creed is used, in which the *filioque* does not appear, and the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith expressly prohibits the use of the *filioque* in the vernacular Greek Mass. The International Orthodox/Roman Catholic Commission likewise lends support for restoring the original text. In its discussions in Crete in 1984, the Commission recommended that the text of 381/451 be understood as the "Ecumenical Creed," to be used for occasions of worship between Eastern and Western churches. As a corollary to this recommendation, it was suggested that individual churches might also make use of this text if they wished.⁸

Given the Pope's example, the implications of current liturgical practice, and the recommendations of the International Commission, Roman Catholic theologians and even curial officials should have no hesitation in moving promptly and purposefully to restoring the integrity of the original text of the Creed.

⁷"...et in Spiritum Sanctum dominum and vivificantem, ex Patre procedentem, cum Patre et Filio adorandum et conglorificandum, qui locutus est per prophetas." For the letter of March 25, 1981 see *Acta Apostolica Sedis* 78/8 (1 Oct. 1981) 515. The French text of the letter appears in *Irenikon* 54/2 (1981) 250, along with a report and comment on the Pentecost observances in the same issue, particularly pp. 223-28. In this regard it is amusing to note that the English translation of the letter in *Origins* 10/44 (Apr. 16, 1981) has the Pope quoting the current English text of the Roman rite: (the Holy Spirit) "who proceeds from the Father and the Son" (p. 698). Whether this is due to a slip of the typewriter or a lapse in credulity, I do not know.

⁸The Byzantine text of the Our Father is also used in the modern Greek version of the Roman rite. Documentation of the Crete meeting is not due to be published until the summer of 1986. For information on both these points I am indebted to John Long, SJ, in conversation.

B. That as a step to the full restoration of the original text of the Creed, and in order to familiarize both pastors and faithful with the forthcoming change, the Greek and Latin texts of Constantinople and Chalcedon be authorized as *alternative* texts (in translation) for occasional liturgical use in the interim. Appropriate educational and pastoral efforts should accompany this change in practice.

C. That more careful consideration be given to the *operative* theology of orders and church structure that popular understandings of the *filioque* seem to encourage. (I include here the opinions of bishops and priests, not simply those of the presumedly theologically uneducated.)

It is a prerequisite to ecumenical discourse to reject caricature and polemical misrepresentation of controverted theological positions. Little, however, is gained by overlooking problems that such ecumenical etiquette can mask. Thus, for instance, in rejecting as exaggerated and uncritical the oftentimes polemical claim that, in subordinating the Spirit to the Son, the *filioque* leads to a subordination of Church to Pope as vicar of Christ, or of charism/Spirit to office, it is all too easy to overlook the way in which such assumptions do in fact function in the Roman Church.⁹ Even without explicit appeal to the *filioque* for justification, a common understanding of orders seems to attribute to Christ the gift of the Spirit in the sacramental act of ordination, so that the Spirit is seen as originating from him, rather than as being given by Christ as the Spirit he always receives from another (the Father). A similar effect can be observed in the treatment of the epiclesis in the renewed Roman rite following Vatican II. While it cannot be denied that the invocation of the Spirit has been restored to prominence in the eucharistic prayer, nevertheless the placement and the division of the epiclesis in that prayer deserve attention. In attempting to reconcile a traditional theological understanding of the consecratory significance of the words of institution with the renewed emphasis on the work of the Spirit, the Roman rite resorts to placing part of the epiclesis—the prayer to the Father to “send your Spirit upon these gifts to make them holy, that they might become for us the body and blood of our Lord, Jesus Christ”—*before* the words of institution and part *after*—

⁹Thus, ironically, I find myself in disagreement with Theodore Stylianos' sincere admonition to his Orthodox colleagues in his essay on “The Orthodox Position,” in *Conflicts About the Holy Spirit*, p. 30.

"May all of us who share in the body and blood of Christ be brought together in unity by the Holy Spirit." Thus the epiclesis is weakened and stands in uneasy relationship to a theology which identifies the consecration of the bread and wine with the priest's repetition of the words of Jesus.¹⁰

Turning from the *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ* work and recommendations for the Apostolic Faith Study, I want now to take up several current issues in regard to the Holy Spirit and the naming of God.

¹⁰Despite scholarly and theological opinions to the contrary, I have long felt—ever since first trying to understand the controversy—that the *filioque* functioned in a particular fashion to legitimate the kind of Western understanding of Spirit, order and orders that I have been describing here. The example of the epiclesis, and the particular way of putting the question of the Spirit in orders, I owe to Peter Fink, SJ, in conversation. Hermann Haring, in "The Role of the Spirit in the Legitimation of Ecclesial Office," illustrates the opposite point of view (in *Conflicts About the Holy Spirit*, 74). He argues (rightly) that the linking of office and Spirit is also and perhaps especially an *Eastern legacy*, and not simply a Western or Roman question. He goes on to note that the link between Spirit and ecclesial office is a real question for the churches of the Reformation as well. Although I concur with his arguments, I nevertheless find that they tend to mask the reality of the rhetoric and experience of orders that has been commonplace in the Roman Church. For this reason it is interesting to see how Jürgen Moltmann handles the question in his dialogue with Elisabeth Moltmann Wendel at the Sheffield Conference ("Becoming Human in New Community," in *The Community of Women and Men in the Church*, ed. C. Parvey, [Philadelphia, 1983], pp. 29-42). There, in responding to Elisabeth's comment that "the Holy Spirit was chained to official ministries and robbed of the renewing power," Jürgen frankly acknowledges that "the Church quite early in its history tied the Holy Spirit to successive holders of the episcopal office." Further, he points out that:

The Western Church also tied the Spirit to the chain of Christology by means of the *Filioque* clause in the Nicene Creed. The Spirit then becomes simply the internal subjective reality of Christ, of the Word and sacraments of the Church. No room is left for the creatively new or for the surprises of the Holy Spirit, not even room to expect them (p. 14).

This is, I think, a more accurate representation of the actual reality of the effects of the *filioque* on the practical understanding of office and orders in the Roman Church.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES: NAMING GOD

Confident that traditional aspects of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and of the Trinity will receive sufficient coverage in this consultation, I want to address here the issue of trinitarian language and imagery as it arises in the context of questions about the inclusivity and wholeness of theological vision. I do so not only out of my Roman Catholic tradition, but also out of the feminist community within and beyond that tradition, with whom I also stand.

The question of language has been raised extensively enough both in feminist theory and feminist theology not to need documentation here.¹¹ It is sufficient to note that exclusively (or predominantly) masculine imagery, the assumption that masculine grammatical forms are generic, and the language of domination and alienation are commonly thought to be inadequate representations of the fullness of human reality and experience. Rather than being exempt from charges of exclusivity or sexism, theological language is particularly susceptible to them, seeking as it does to speak truly not only of humankind but also of God. Measured against standards of inclusivity, the language of faith is found to be inadequate to the realities it attempts to describe, thereby leaving itself open to the liabilities of both idolatry and mystification.

Perhaps the most obvious place in which the language of faith reveals its limitations and exclusivity is in the Christian doctrine of the Trinity: Father, Son and Holy Spirit. In a church which makes constant use of the sign of the cross and rather frequent reference to the blessed Trinity, one is struck again and again by the overwhelmingly masculine nature of the image conveyed by this naming of God. When Christian tradition then goes on to speak of humankind as

¹¹For the general case about sexist language, see Dale Splender, *Man = Made Language* (London and Boston, 1980); for more detailed and technical studies see the essays in *Sexist Language: A Modern Philosophical Analysis*, ed. Mary Vetterling Bragg, (Totowa, NJ, 1981), and *Language, Gender and Society*, eds. Barrie Thorne, Cheris Kramarae, and Nancy Henley, (Rowley, MA, 1983). For language in theology and religious education, see Marianne Sawicki, *Faith and Sexism: Guidelines for Religious Educators* (New York, 1979). And for analysis of the effects of sexism in language on a theological discipline, see Beverly Harrison, "Sexism and the Language of Christian Ethics," in her *Making the Connections: Essays in Feminist Social Ethics*, ed. C. Robb, (Boston, 1985), pp. 22-41.

created in the *imago Dei*, it is no wonder that our social and interpersonal relationships are characterized by gender-stratification and patterns of domination and subordination.

Concerns about language and its social and ecclesial implications are not new to members of this consultation or to the NCCC. Nevertheless, our reflections on the Holy Spirit and on a particular linguistic problem—the *filioque*—have helped focus for me the problem of the naming of God and the role of the Spirit in that naming. In the remainder of this paper, therefore, I propose to consider some particular questions about speaking of the Spirit in the framework of traditional trinitarian language, as well as to present some of the alternative ways of naming and imaging the Trinity currently being explored in feminist theology.

The Holy Spirit and the Language of the Trinity

In a dialogue presentation at the Sheffield Conference which concluded the Community of Women and Men in the Church study, Elisabeth Moltmann-Wendel and Jürgen Moltmann spoke together about “Becoming Human in New Community.”¹² Both commented on the masculine nature of trinitarian language and sought more adequate expressions. It is perhaps typical of many women and men in the Church today that Jürgen looked for alternatives or corrective possibilities within the tradition, while Elisabeth spoke enthusiastically about the powers of women’s imagination and “theo-fantasy” as partner with “theo-logy.” For Elisabeth, new images of God will emerge especially from women’s experience; for Jürgen, newly rediscovered images will arise from within the tradition. Neither approach is sufficient in itself for the reconstruction of our language about God, but both are necessary. In order to honor both approaches, I will begin here from Jürgen’s remarks and relate to them to his work for the *filioque* consultation; and in the following section I will consider some of the possibilities opened up by Elisabeth’s comments.

In his part of the Sheffield presentation, Moltmann suggested that the “maternal office of the Holy Spirit, the divine motherhood” is a suppressed tradition that has surfaced from time to time in Christian

¹²In *The Community of Women and Men in the Church*, ed. Constance Parvey, (Philadelphia, 1983), pp. 29-42.

history and ought to be reclaimed today.¹³ He found it helpful "not only because it discovers the female principle in the Godhead but also because it picks up an element of the truth in pan[en]theism," since, with the Spirit as our mother we can experience ourselves as "in God" and not just "under God." A similar line of thought is pursued by Yves Congar in his work on the Holy Spirit, in which he promotes the "femininity of the Holy Spirit" and propounds the Spirit's "maternal function" as the expression of "motherhood in God."¹⁴ Significant difficulties, however, arise out of efforts to speak of only one person of the Trinity as feminine while the other two persons remain masculine. Rather than advancing either the linguistic problem or trinitarian conceptuality, such efforts serve simply to reinforce a practical subordinationism within the Trinity (so that the one female figure appears of lesser significance than the two male figures) and a social subordinationism (of women to men) within the human community.¹⁵

Other reasons for speaking of the Spirit as feminine are commonly adduced: in most Semitic languages "spirit" is feminine in gender; Wisdom, often associated with the Spirit, is a female personification of God's presence with humanity. Although Moltmann does not employ these arguments, Congar and many others do. In any case, they are subject to the same difficulty raised above. Further, because in Christian tradition Wisdom is early identified with Christ and her attributes taken on by the Logos, the proper role and reality of the Spirit tend to be overshadowed by the christological appropriation of Wisdom, despite the use of a fuller range of masculine and feminine images in this naming of God.¹⁶

Taking a somewhat different approach to the question of how to

¹³Ibid., p. 36. Cf. *The Trinity and the Kingdom* (San Francisco, 1981) pp. 164-65.

¹⁴*I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 3, pp. 155-62.

¹⁵See, for instance, Margaret Farley, "New Patterns of Relationship: Beginnings of a Moral Revolution," *Theological Studies* 36/4 (1975) 643; and Mary Rose D'Angelo, "Beyond Father and Son," in *Justice as Mission: An Agenda for the Church*, eds. T. Brown and C. Lind, (Burlington, Ontario, Canada, 1985), pp. 107-18.

¹⁶For the limitations of this approach, see Elizabeth Johnson, "The Incomprehensibility of God and the Image of God Male and Female," *Theological Studies* 45 (1984) 457-60; and D'Angelo, pp. 112-13.

incorporate the feminine into the Godhead, Moltmann argued, in another article from the same year as the Sheffield dialogue, that an understanding of the "motherly Father" and "a trinitarian patri-passianism" seem to be in the process of replacing "theological patriarchalism." In that argument, the trinitarian lopsidedness remains but is weighted toward the Father, who now takes on maternal as well as paternal characteristics, not only begetting (fathering) the Son, but giving birth to (mothering) him as well.¹⁷ Here the attribution of female qualities to one of the persons of the Trinity does not reduce that person in stature, but, because he retains the masculine "Father" qualities at the same time, the valence of this persona is instead increased.

There are several difficulties to this approach to trinitarian imagery and language. The first is the imbalance that results from all efforts to "incorporate the feminine" into what remains a predominantly and, presumably, normatively masculine God. The second is the literal meaning that Moltmann attaches to the fatherhood of God. Moltmann understands the begetting of the Son, as well as the generative relationship by which we become daughters and sons of the Father, to be the *literal* sense of the way in which God is Father. This stands in sharp contrast, for instance, to the metaphorical sense which he gives to the affirmation that the Father is "almighty creator and lord of all things."¹⁸ One is led to ask what is at stake in Moltmann's insistence on a literal meaning of fatherhood.

The *filioque* discussions provide a clue to Moltmann's motivations. In both his essay in the *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ* volume and in the Klingenthal memorandum there is a marked christological skewing of the Trinity. Moltmann argues that it is only through Christ that the true—the "literal"—meaning of God as Father can be known: "It is only in relationship with his Son that God can literally be called Father." Indeed, his trinitarian theology rests on a christological presupposition: "The doctrine of the Trinity does not deify Christ but 'christifies' God, because it pulls the Father into the life-story of the Son."¹⁹ Moltmann therefore asserts that, "God the

¹⁷"The Motherly Father," in *God as a Father?* eds. J. Metz and E. Schillebeeckx, Concilium 143 (New York, 1981) 53.

¹⁸Ibid. p. 51.

¹⁹Ibid. p. 53.

Father is always the Father of the Son. . . . It is solely and exclusively in the eternal begetting of the eternal Son that God shows himself as the 'Father'."²⁰ In its insistence that the Father from whom the Spirit proceeds is the Father *of the Son*, the Klingenthal memorandum bears the imprint of Moltmann's thought. The Spirit is understood as the Spirit of the Son, by whose inspiration we are able to call God "Father" (Rom 8.15; 2 Cor 3.17). Thus, in an odd sort of way, it is the *Son* who becomes the *arche* of the Trinity on his view.

A christologically skewed Trinity is as unbalanced as a Trinity in which only one of the persons is feminine, or in which only one person is both masculine and feminine. What is lacking in each case is the radical equality, even in the differentiation of persons, that must be the basis for trinitarian conceptualization. It is simply not adequate to consider only *one* person of the Trinity to be feminine; *all* must be. Or, better, all must be both masculine and feminine. It may be possible to get a hint of why Moltmann shies away from naming each person as feminine when he remarks that, "The Christian doctrine of the Trinity, with its affirmations about the motherly Father, represents a first step towards limiting the use of masculine terminology to express the idea of God, "*without, however, changing over to matriarchal conceptions*" (emphasis mine).²¹

Fear of matriarchy, or, perhaps more accurately, fear of the full emergence of the repressed feminine/female, both symbolically and socially, is no more conducive to a true naming of God than is exclusively masculine language. In any case, false naming of God flirts with idolatry, all the more so when that naming is raised to unchallenged norm and taken to be the expression of unalterable truth. While not wishing to claim that Moltmann holds such a view, I do find a serious inconsistency to his proposals. On the one hand, he recognizes the limitations of masculine terminology and the need to overcome its exclusivity. On the other hand, he is extremely hesitant to go beyond the approach of simply looking for a less patriarchal and more Christian meaning of "Father." Others tread more perilous ground than he when they contend that the *only* legitimate naming of the triune God is as Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

²⁰"Theological Proposals Towards the Resolution of the Filioque Controversy," in *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, p. 167.

²¹"The Motherly Father," p. 53.

For the Christian tradition demonstrates that alternative namings were possible and acceptable (e.g., Augustine's "psychological analogies" for the Trinity, culminating in the familiar "memory, understanding and will"), just as, it can be argued, the tradition itself demands more adequate namings in our own times in order to make known the saving mystery of this God.²² I turn, then, to the efforts of feminist theology to name God in the power of the Holy Spirit and in the light of women's experience.

New Namings of God

Language both reflects and gives form to reality. In Christian experience this can be seen most graphically in Paul's reflections on the gracious effects of the Spirit within us, enabling us to call God "Abba," bearing witness with us to our relationship to God, and interceding for us with sighs too deep for words (Rom 8.15-16,26). On the one hand, it is because we are sons and daughters that God has sent the Spirit into our hearts, crying "Abba" (Gal 4.6); on the other, it is because we cry "Abba" that we are children and heirs of God (Rom 8.15-16). Language, then, the gift of the Spirit, both reflects a reality that already exists and at the same time continues to call that reality into being. It conveys a sense both of the structure of human community and a sense, as Beverly Harrison puts it, of "power-in-relationship."²³ That is what makes false naming so constricting and damaging, and true naming so freeing and empowering. This final section, therefore, examines some of the current feminist efforts to reimage and name God more inclusively, and concludes with the suggestion that such undertakings are themselves manifestations of the same reflective and creative power of the Spirit that Paul saw at work in the early Christian community.

The feminist revisioning of God begins from a critique of God = language that by now has become common currency. In addition to stressing the world-shaping function of language, this critique analyzes the significance of gender relations in establishing and distorting

²²See Catherine M. LaCugna's reconceptualization of the Trinity in soteriological terms, which argues for new models and imagery as well as for a closer connection between pneumatology and Christology: "Re-conceiving the Trinity as the Mystery of Salvation," in *Scottish Journal of Theology* 38 (1985) 1-23.

²³Harrison, p. 24.

patterns of social relationship, which then in turn inform the structures of language in ways that reinforce the social reality of inequality and domination in human relationships.²⁴ Ethical questions of fundamental importance arise from this analysis: how to account morally for the nearly universal patterns of social subjugation; how to overcome the consequences of our tolerance for such subjugation at the interpersonal level and its translation into tolerance for socio-communal forms of subjugation; how to reconstruct the foundations of equality from the theoretical sources of inequality.²⁵ Newly emerging patterns of male-female relationship, the increasing value that women are placing on their own experience, and the pressure exerted by these and other ethical questions all argue for the necessity of new namings of both divine and human reality. The challenge of feminist theology is forcefully described by Elizabeth Johnson: "Is the God of the Judeo-Christian tradition so true as to be able to take account of, illumine, and integrate the currently accessible experience of women?"²⁶

Efforts to answer that question affirmatively have taken three basic forms: 1) incorporating "feminine traits" into the patriarchal image of God the Father; 2) developing an understanding of the "feminine dimension" of the divine, particularly but not exclusively in terms of the feminity of the Holy Spirit; and 3) beginning to image God equivalently as male and female.²⁷ The first and second approaches have largely been the province of male theologians (e.g., Visser't Hooft, Congar, Moltmann), the third more usually the approach of women (e.g., Farley, Harrison, Ruether). The first two approaches founder on the rock of gender stereotyping, and the second is subject to the additional liability of a skewed trinitarian formulation. The third, however, offers considerable hope for the future of both God-language and human community.

In a germinal essay from 1975 on "New Patterns of Relationship: Beginnings of a Moral Revolution," Margaret Farley examines the

²⁴E.g., Harrison, pp. 24-25; Farley, "New Patterns of Relationship," p. 629 and "Sources of Sexual Inequality in the History of Christian Thought," *Journal of Religion* 56 (1976) 167; Johnson, p. 442; D'Angelo, pp. 107-08.

²⁵Harrison, pp. 26-27; Farley, "Sources," p. 169.

²⁶Johnson, p. 445.

²⁷The threefold typology is Johnson's, p. 454 ff.

ethical significance of changing social roles and interpersonal relationships between women and men. In analyzing the challenges these changes present to our understanding of the norms of Christian agape (equal regard, self-sacrifice and mutuality), she makes several important suggestions about the reconstruction of trinitarian doctrine as a model of mutuality.²⁸

She argues that "Christian theology has failed to grant equality to women precisely in so far as it has failed to attribute to women the fulness of the image of God," and she asks "whether sexual identity does indeed give graded shares in the *Imago Dei*" and whether God's self-revelation as Trinity includes "revelation of a model of interpersonal love which is based upon equality and infinite mutuality."²⁹ Farley concludes that there are solid grounds for "naming each of the persons in the Trinity feminine as well as masculine," though her major example is restricted to Father/Son or Mother/Daughter, and is justified by the changed understandings of human generativity, on the one hand, and the changed social position of women and of male/female relationships on the other.

By appealing to Augustine, she is able to make the argument more nearly trinitarian: "With Augustine new images were introduced . . . which described a triune life in which all that the Father is communicated to the Son, and all that the Son receives is returned to the Father, and the life of utter mutuality, communion, which they share, is the Spirit."³⁰ At this point her argument suffers from the same problem that all Western trinitarian thought has so far experienced: the difficulty of conceiving a truly personal and "life-size" role for the Spirit, along the lines of the much fuller and more integral portraits of Father and Son that Western theology has traditionally drawn. Even in the truncated two-person form characteristic of Western trinitarian theology, Farley's argument comes to very different conclusions than do the classical expositions in regard to what this model of Trinity reveals, both for our understanding of God and our understanding of human relationships. I quote part of her rhetorical summing-up of this point:

²⁸Pp. 640-43.

²⁹Ibid. p. 640. LaCugna makes a similar point, pp. 13-14.

³⁰Ibid. p. 642.

Is it not possible on this account to describe the First Person as masculine and the Second Person as feminine and the bond which is the infinite communion between them (the Spirit of both) as necessarily both masculine and feminine? Do we not have here revealed a relationship in which both the First Person and the Second Person are infinitely active and infinitely receptive, infinitely giving and infinitely receiving, holding in infinite mutuality and reciprocity a totally shared life? Do we not have here, in any case, a model of relationship which is not hierarchical, which is marked by total equality, and which is offered to us in Christian revelation as the model for relationship with Christ and for our relationships in the Church with one another?³¹

Many would respond that we do—or at least that we have the lineaments of such a model. Farley's suggestions are affirmed in the statement on "Authority-in-Community" offered by a study group of the NCCC's Commission on Faith and Order as part of the Community of Women and Men in the Church study.³² Arguing that "the absence of subordination or inequality in the Trinity ought to be reflected in the community of women and men," the statement concludes that adequate imaging of God in the structures of language and of human community requires deeper reflection on and greater appreciation of the mutual relatedness of the Trinity, as well as common use of a wider range of language and the imagery of many "trinities."³³ Similar conclusions are reached by Elizabeth Johnson and Catherine LaCugna in their reflections on language and the doctrine of God.³⁴

A very helpful contribution to expanding the range of trinitarian language is offered by Mary Rose D'Angelo in an essay entitled "Beyond Father and Son."³⁵ There she demonstrates that exclusively male language for the Trinity "evokes a theological context that has been abusive of women," and she argues that biblical and theological

³¹Ibid. pp. 643.

³²The paper produced by the study group was drafted by Madeleine Boucher, "Authority-in-Community," *Mid-Stream* 21 (1982) 402-17; see particularly pp. 406-11.

³³Ibid. pp. 408, 410.

³⁴Johnson, pp. 460, 463; LaCugna, pp. 17, 19.

³⁵See reference in n. 15 above.

tradition not only permits but requires the use of alternative trinitarian formulations. She then makes two critical methodological observations. The first is that substitution of a single formula for "Father, Son and Spirit" will not be sufficient either to overcome the inherent subordinationism of most traditional trinitarian language or to exorcize the damaging effects on women of language that separates and alienates the female from God. Rather, what is needed is "to reduce drastically our use of these terms, especially in the liturgy, and to juxtapose and overwhelm them with a flood of alternative language and imagery."³⁶

Her second methodological point has to do with the supposed uniqueness, hence normativity, of Jesus' naming of God as "Father." Arguments that "Jesus' use of 'Father' was radically different from contemporary Jewish and Greek theology are," she asserts, "extremely weak, and frequently tinged with anti-Judaism." Instead, she contends that:

Historical and moral responsibility are better served if we assume that this name for God came to Jesus and the Church with the heritage of Judaism and spoke profoundly to Jew and Greek alike of God's being as author and sustainer of life and of our being as God's kin. Our obligation to the New Testament witness is not to repeat the title for its sacredness, but to sanctify God's name in words that ever more fully disclose its call upon our being and its challenge to human dominions.³⁷

A multiplicity of names for God is therefore needed. It is not only Son and Spirit that need to be reconceptualized—whether along the lines of Wisdom christology or feminine imagery of the Spirit (with their attendant limitations)—but also the Father. D'Angelo considers Phyllis Tribble's recovery of the vivid Old Testament metaphor of God as womb (from the root *rhm*, womb/mercy/have compassion) an

³⁶Ibid. p. 111.

³⁷D'Angelo points out (n. 27) that the customary arguments for the uniqueness of Jesus' use of "Father" all depend on an argument by J. Jeremias, "Abba," in *The Prayers of Jesus* (London, 1967), pp. 11-65, and she suggests instead that "a more sophisticated and sympathetic reading of the same evidence would conclude that Jesus and the New Testament were part of the evidence for first-century Jewish use of 'Father' in prayer."

important contribution to the revisioning of the Father, as is Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's suggestion that "Wisdom" was as central to Jesus' understanding of God as was "Father."

At the conclusion of her essay, D'Angelo presents a number of alternative trinitarian formulas, fashioned from the rich biblical imagery of light, water, wisdom, yearning, and compassionate mother-love:

Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier
 Creator, Liberator, Advocate
 Wise God, Wisdom of God, Spirit of Wisdom
 God, Source of Being; Christ, Channel of Life; Spirit, Living Water

And she offers as well some brief trinitarian invocations:

Mothering God, make us drink the spirit that flows from the breast
 of Christ

From the womb of your compassion, O God, bring forth in us
 a new order of justice and equality, that the Spirit may breathe
 freely in all who share Christ's humanity.³⁸

If it was in the power and freedom of the Spirit that Paul and other early Christians were able to call God "Father," it is equally possible—indeed, likely—that it is also in the power and freedom of the Spirit that women today are calling on that same God by names that move us "beyond Father and Son." At Sheffield Elisabeth Moltmann-Wendel commented on a fact that scholars in biblical and historical-theological fields have begun to notice once again: the way in which, as she puts it, "in the long history of the patriarchal Church women were able again and again to breach the dominant structures in the power of the Holy Spirit. But the Church constantly distrusted both women and the Spirit, condemning their works as extremism, heresy, paganism."³⁹ The communities created by these periodic

³⁸Ibid. p. 113.

³⁹"Becoming Human in New Community," p. 41. For historical analysis see Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York, 1983), pp. 130-51, and her essay "Word, Spirit and Power: Women in Early Christian Communities," in *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. R. Ruether and E. McLaughlin (New York, 1979), pp. 30-70. Also,

outpourings of the Spirit were egalitarian in character and stood in sharp contrast to the increasingly patriarchalized institution that claimed the name "Church" exclusively for itself. Today that Church is again being offered, through the unexpected and even at times unwanted gifts of the Spirit, a chance to turn from patriarchal modes of being and to become instead the new community of women and men, a community joined together in the memory and expectation of Jesus, empowered by the radiant love of the Spirit to live in the presence of the inclusive reign of God. And the urgent question that faces us is this: will we be able, this time, to receive the "hint half guessed, the gift half understood,"⁴⁰ and make incarnate among us that new community?

Elaine C. Huber, *Women and the Authority of Inspiration: A Reexamination of Two Prophetic Movements from a Contemporary Feminist Perspective* (Lanham, MD., 1985), pp. 20-64.

⁴⁰T. S. Eliot, "The Dry Salvages," from *Four Quartets*, in *Collected Poems 1909-1962* (N.Y., 1970), p. 199.

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The Holy Spirit Consultation : An Introduction

S. MARK HEIM

THE CONSULTATION ON THE HOLY SPIRIT, the papers of which are presented in this volume, is one small part of a much larger ecumenical project. Like any single part of a fuller conversation, its true value and worth can be seen only in the context of the whole. Nor is this larger context simply the long argument—often much more like conflict—between the Christian East and the Christian West over the insertion of the *filioque* clause into the Nicene Creed. Central as this issue is to the discussion, it is set within the even broader contemporary search of the churches for unity in the trinitarian apostolic faith.

Within the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches, there has been general agreement that the path to full Christian unity (and perhaps to a general ecumenical council) would necessarily include three major steps: agreement on the church-dividing issues of baptism, eucharist, and ministry; common confession of the apostolic faith; and common ways of deciding and acting together.

The 1982 World Council of Churches Faith and Order document *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* represents a major contribution toward the first condition of Christian unity.¹ This document is now before

¹Jeffrey Gros, ed., *The Search for Visible Unity* (New York, 1984); *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, Faith and Order Paper No. 111, (Geneva, 1982); Max Thurian and Geoffrey Wainwright, eds., *Baptism and Eucharist: Ecumenical Convergence in Celebration*, (Geneva, 1983); Jeffrey Gros, "Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry," *One World* (January 1985).

the churches for their possible reception.

From the time of the 1975 World Council Assembly at Nairobi, the World Council's Faith and Order Commission has engaged in a second major study: "Towards the Common Expression of the Apostolic Faith Today."² This study process addresses itself to another of the major conditions of Christian unity: the common recognition and expression of fundamental Christian faith.

On the world level, this study has gathered significant confessional material from WCC member churches and has sponsored a series of consultations focused on the Nicene Creed.³ The study has chosen to focus on the Nicene Creed as the most common *confession* shared by Christians, seeking to have the various traditions find a common *explication* of the creed's meaning; a common *recognition* of the creed; and finally common *confession* of the faith of the creed. Consultations have taken place in Africa, Asia and Europe, dealing with the creed's articles on God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit.

The Faith and Order Commission of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. has participated in the work of the Apostolic Faith study, working on its own related but independent agenda. The Commission has sponsored six consultations in addition to the one reported in this volume: Creeds and the Churches, Language and the Creeds, Scripture and Creeds, The Apostolic Faith in Relation to the Jewish Faith, Christology, and Black Witness to the Apostolic Faith.⁴ The U.S. Faith and Order Commission

²David Paton, ed., *Breaking Barriers*, Nairobi 1975 (London, 1976); *The Ecumenical Review* 26 (April 1974); Michael Kinnamon, ed., *Towards Visible Unity*, Vols. 1 and 2, Faith and Order Papers No. 112, 113 (Geneva, 1982); Faith and Order Paper No. 121, Minutes, Standing Commission of Faith and Order, Crete (Geneva, 1984).

³C. S. Song, ed., *Confessing Our Faith Around the World*, Vol. 1, Faith and Order Paper No. 104 (Geneva, 1980), Hans-Georg Link, ed., *Confessing Our Faith Around the World*, Vol. 2, Faith and Order Paper No. 120 (Geneva, 1983), Vol. 3 (Faith and Order Paper No. 123 (Geneva, 1984). Hans-Georg Link, ed., *The Roots of Our Common Faith: Faith in the Scriptures and in the Early Church* (Geneva, 1984).

⁴Some of these consultations have published documentation and others may find publication in the future. See, for instance, Mark Heim, "Gender and Creed: Confessing a Common Faith," *Christian Century*, 102 (1985) 379-81; *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (August 1985), special issue on Language and the Creeds; *Mid-Stream*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (October 1985), special issue on Black Witness to the Apostolic Faith.

attempts to bring a contribution to the larger study which will reflect the North American context: the pluralism of traditions, the strength of non-creedal churches, the perspectives of minority communities, the importance of issues of language and gender. At the same time, it focuses on the ways in which our various churches confess the same apostolic faith.

The background for this particular consultation on the Holy Spirit includes the work within the larger Apostolic Faith study which has focused on the Spirit, as well as the labors of individual scholars and bilateral dialogues which have prepared the ground for that work. Most particularly, we must refer to the World Council consultations issuing in the "Klingenthal Memorandum."⁵ These meetings focused on the long controversy over the insertion of the *filioque* clause into the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. The fruitful work of Klingenthal suggested that healing of this vexing controversy might be soon at hand for the churches.

Some of the most significant roles in this work have been played by representatives of the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic communions. Thus it was entirely appropriate that the U.S. consultation should be held at Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology. The Klingenthal document on the *filioque* was not the only impetus for the Holy Cross consultation however. In North America it was possible to bring together a range of Christian traditions whose voices have not been prominent in the historical faith and order discussions, most notably representatives of the Pentecostal and Holiness families. In addition it was possible to benefit from the participation of a significant number of women: scholars and theologians who brought their perspectives to bear on the trinitarian issues. Notable also was the conviction of some participants that the understanding of the Holy Spirit cannot proceed without reference to the work of the Spirit as it is manifest in the world beyond the Church. These would wish to call attention to the link which must exist between the Apostolic Faith study and the World Council study on "The Unity of the Church and the Renewal of Human Community."⁶ Thus the consultation offered its own unique texture as a contribution to ecumenical reflection on the Holy Spirit.

⁵Lukas Vischer, ed., *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, Faith and Order Paper No. 103 (London, 1981), pp. 3-18.

⁶Michael Kinnamon, ed., *Towards Visible Unity*, Vols. 1 and 2.

The papers which are published here reflect the diversity which enriched the consultation. We have arranged them in such a way that those dealing most directly with the *filioque* questions appear together, so the reader may have easy reference to them. Then we have grouped the papers which bring perspectives from traditions which have not participated in those particular historical conflicts but which are concerned with related issues. The summary statement which issued from our meeting is also published here. From it the reader may gain some indication of the nature of the discussion and dialogue which took place in the sessions of the consultation.

I cannot close this introduction without taking the opportunity to offer thanks to my co-editor, Father Theodore Stylianopoulos, for his care and energy in shepherding this volume into print. On behalf of the Faith and Order Commission I would also like to thank Father Nomikos Michael Vapori, the editor of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, for opening the pages of that journal to the work of the consultation. The special thanks of the Commission and the participants in the consultation go as well to His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, under whose auspices we were able to meet in the gracious surroundings of Holy Cross and Hellenic College.

It is my prayer that our reflection together upon the Holy Spirit, "the giver of life," may be blessed by that same Spirit, to nurture and strengthen us on the journey to unity.

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The Importance of Orthodox Christian-Muslim Dialogue

METROPOLITAN CONSTANTINE OF DERKON

FIRST I WOULD LIKE to congratulate the organizing committee of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, for undertaking the initiative to organize this symposium on a timely topic of great importance: namely the dialogue between Christians and Muslims.

I would also like to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Thomas C. Lelon, President of Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, to the Rev. Dr. Alkiviades Calivas, Dean of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, and to the Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou, Chairman of the Faculty Lectureship Committee, for their kindness in inviting me to participate, thus affording me the extraordinary opportunity to address and meet such distinguished theologians and scholars, both Christian and Muslim.

These days, when Christian churches try to come nearer to each other through dialogue, it is not only proper and right, but at the same time necessary to extend this dialogue towards other religions as well, especially the monotheistic ones. The dialogue with Islam, a religion second only to Christianity in number of followers, is naturally of great importance and interest. Moreover, Islam has long ago come out of the narrow boundaries of the Arabic peninsula, surpassing the geographical borders of the Middle East, to find its place in today's world of global character. The vigorous existence of Islam in countries of South Asia, its huge expansion among young nations of the African continent, its perceptible presence in Europe and lately in America, give evidence enough to convince every man of good will to try to get in

close contact with the Muslim world. Although there was a time when this world was not known beyond the Middle East and the Mediterranean countries, today it is a worldwide accepted concrete certainty. Especially these days, the last decades of the twentieth century, the world of Islam attracts the interest of the Western world as never before.

Neither Islam nor Christianity are of Western origin; it would not, however, be right to say that they are exclusively Eastern-oriented religions. It may seem strange to the modern world, but Islam appears to adapt itself more or less to modern living conditions, including in itself great treasures of mysticism and metaphysical wisdom, a source of nourishment for longstanding generations of theorists and hermits alike. With broadening dimensions Islam aspires to reconcile man with the surrounding universe, the creature with the Creator.

It is a great pity that, though the two religions have emerged and developed in neighboring countries, they have not as yet come to really know each other. Mutual accusations have been launched in the past, some of which have not been forgotten even today. Muslims have been blamed for fatalism, fanaticism, polygamy, etc.; Christians, for polytheism and distorting the divine Revelation and the commandments of God.

We must confess that many special studies about Islam have been done by Christians, particularly during the last two centuries, thus a literature rich in content and wisdom has come to light. However remarkable these studies might be from the historical, literary, and religious point of view, they have contributed very little to a mutual understanding and rapprochement because they were addressed to specialized academic circles.

We are astonished by the fact that Eastern religions, completely unknown to the West, attracted people's interest, sympathy, and love, while religions from the same root of Abraham remained aloof or even hostile to each other. Nevertheless, the day by day increasing interest in the world of Islam and its important role in worldly affairs, gave impetus to a dialogue between Christians and Muslims.

Muslims and Christians are called today to ask themselves about the different aspects of their common course through a turbulent history of fourteen successive centuries; they are called in the name of God to realize the teachings of this course in order to find out that the paths of their dialogue could oblige them tomorrow to give the best evidence and make it possible for them to live together in an exemplary friendly cooperation in the service of God, mankind, and the world.

If we bear in mind the great variety this dialogue offers, its perspectives, its historical conditions, and the circumstances under which it should flourish and develop, it would be superfluous to mention how important it is from the Orthodox Christian point of view. It is true that the need for a dialogue has been pointed out several times in the past without, however, an appreciation of the demands or methods for it. We should avoid any offhand syncretism among religions because this might spoil friendly cooperation and harm prospects for further meetings. A real dialogue depends on the courageous efforts of people who wish to know each other's differences, to understand their common points and values, and to answer sincerely and clearly the call of God in their innermost soul and conscience.

It is quite natural for Christians and Muslims to differ fundamentally whenever they meet to talk, since they belong to different religions and their definitions and evaluations vary. Nonetheless, it is very important to create and develop a spirit of mutual understanding, love, harmony, and respect for each other. The Orthodox Christians especially, who wish to be known for their fidelity to the Gospel, especially cannot be indifferent to such serious research by people who, though foreign to Christian belief, have undertaken the task of honoring God in their own way. Neither of them should concede for the sake of superficial harmony and cooperation or the strong opposition they might possibly face from the other side. They should together search for possible ways to find some mutually agreeable meeting points. Beyond any possible comparisons, it is necessary to look for common values under which Christians and Muslims could be united in their religious practice and their obligations towards God and humanity.

Through this dialogue Orthodox Christians and Muslims are called to know each other better. They are called to examine more deeply their faith and their religious beliefs, to search diligently for God's will, and to try to bring man back to God, who calls everyone, who forgives everyone, and who transforms everyone. Thus when we speak of a dialogue between Orthodox Christians and Muslims, we by no means mean either proselytism of each other's religion or the sowing of questions and doubts about the religion in which someone has been reared. On the contrary, within the bounds of spiritual antagonism, "they will contest in beneficent deeds" (see Qur'ān, 5.48). They must help each other to improve themselves the way God has shown them and to come nearer to him, thus making the world better.

Therefore, Christians and Muslims are called to meet, to know

each other better, to make themselves understood, and to work together. Fortunately enough there is a basis for such cooperation: common belief in the one, living and existing God, the benevolent and merciful God who created heaven and earth. Holy Scripture and the Qur'ân agree on many points in attributing God's qualities and characteristics. Though the two sides approach God's mystery in different ways, they have the possibility of searching out the real dimensions of the inexpressible splendor in the language of theology and mysticism.

Abraham and the prophets have an outstanding place in the Qur'ân even if not all the names of the prophets are mentioned. Though the Muslims do not recognize the Godhead of Jesus Christ, they respect and honor him as a prophet and they also venerate his mother, the Virgin Mary, who some of them recognize as "the Seal of Holiness." The Christians are delighted by the fact that the Qur'ân recognizes the grandeur and the virtues of Jesus Christ, and they are conscious of the basic difference separating the two religions: the belief that Jesus Christ is the Son of God according to Christians, and simply a prophet according to Muslims. The Christians are prepared to accept favorably what is mentioned in the Qur'ân about Jesus Christ and to be satisfied by the fact that the holiness of his life and the greatness of his teachings have attracted even Muslims. The Muslims believe in Christ's divine mission. They believe that he is Mary's son, born without any human intervention; however, they disregard his incarnation. Likewise, denying his crucifixion and his resurrection, they accept Christ's ascension into heaven and his Second Coming in the fullness of time.

Other common points between Muslims and Christians are their belief in the Judgment Day, the resurrection of the dead, and the just retribution for everyone according to the life he has led in this world. These are some areas to which the Qur'ân gives much importance.

Moreover, a very interesting common point between the two religions is the doctrine regarding the angels. According to the Qur'ân, the angels are created by light and are continuously under God's command. They are executors of his orders. They intervene between him and man. Among the angels Michael and Gabriel hold a special place. Under God's command Gabriel carried the Qur'ân from heaven and dictated it to Muḥammad. He also brought the message to the Virgin Mary that she would give birth to Jesus Christ. Gabriel is often called "God's Spirit." The angels watch over people's lives; they keep records about their deeds in the Bible which will be opened at the Last

Judgment. Not only do the Muslims believe in the existence of the benevolent angels, but they also strongly believe in the active existence of Satan in everyday life, the fall of which is clearly mentioned in the Qur'ân.

In the Islamic doctrine of man we come across many fundamental biblical principles. Man is God's creature; man has been created in the image of God, his Lord. He is endowed with reason and moral qualities, and he is the best divine creature. God created the beautiful image of Adam from clay and water and infused part of his spirit into him. Afterwards he ordered the angels to worship him. God put man as his representative on earth and gave him the power to conquer nature. He equipped Adam with great intellectual qualities and put him in paradise. Accepting the biblical teaching, the Prophet of Islam claims that man caused his own fall, because he did not obey God's orders and ate the forbidden fruit in paradise. Nevertheless, the original sin is not of great importance for Islam, because straight after his disobedience, Adam was forgiven by God.

Though Islam does not accept original sin, it recognizes its consequences in man's life; in other words, though God forgave Adam, he did not bring him back to his previous position. God forgave Adam, because forgiveness is one of his characteristics; but though man does not bear the original sin, in this world he is under continuous judgment. Man can, however, overcome this judgment by the light of Revelation, without there being any need for God's redeeming action. The believer is delivered from his sin by trusting in the one and only God.

Both religions, each according to its own principles, try to create a better and just society, despite the many insuperable obstacles; such obstacles should not hinder their cooperation for a better world. This is the problem to which Christians and Muslims are called to find positive solutions.

It is true that the Christian communities of Arabia, the Byzantine Empire, and some communities of the European West have done their best to carry on the dialogue with Islam for a long time. Perhaps there is still a long way to go before the desired solution is found. Nevertheless, no one can underestimate the interest shown by the Roman Catholics, especially during the last few years, proofs of which are the decisions taken by the Second Vatican Council. Here it also should be pointed out that the World Council of Churches has always been interested in such a dialogue. By and large, we cannot disregard the efforts by the Christian communities all over the world

to try to find any potential way to bridge the differences whenever possible. Of course, we must consider the history and the geographical factors which play a great role as far as the success and extension of this dialogue is concerned.

These days in all the five continents, Christians and Muslims come nearer to each other than ever before. They work together in cultural, social, and economic fields alike. Orthodox, Catholics, and Protestants complement each other when they try to coordinate their approaches and their social and personal experiences in whatever concerns Islam. In their efforts, their aspects might differ. The ones who have understood the grandeur and the content of the divine predominance, the greatness of the paternal generosity, and the importance of obedience in their life will be able to appreciate the meaning of submission in Islam. On the other hand, the others who are very sensitive to the demands of justice and the rights of man and who approach God through the redeeming sacrifice of Jesus Christ will have some difficulty in understanding Islam's problems. In their insistence and devotion to the values of the divine transcendence or in the marvels of the Trinity, the Christians will realize that the dialogue with the Muslims will be easier when it is based on the absoluteness of God, although it could also be based on a mutual commitment to serving human values.

Despite the deep theological differences and dramatic conflicts in the past, Orthodox Christians and Muslims are closer spiritually and geographically because they have common cultural and religious backgrounds, and when two worlds agree and communicate spiritually, their approach is easier. Bearing this in mind, the great significance and importance of the dialogue between Orthodox Christians and Muslims is easily understood.

Orthodox Christians had come into contact with the Muslim world before its expansion to the Iberian peninsula. They rightly claim that they are acquainted with the spirituality and mentality of the Muslim world much better than the Western Christians. This is why they strongly believe that a sensitive approach of Christians and Muslims will be fruitful. It will first be a dialogue among people and later among scholars who will look better and more deeply into the history and content, and above all into the problematic aspects of the two religions. It will be a dialogue among friends with common interests, among simple people who are beyond any fanaticism and bigotry; such a dialogue will pursue the possibilities for a meeting. It will be

a sincere dialogue full of love without any political objective.

Both sides should be convinced that it is the same Almighty God who invites them, even if each one of them interprets him from a different perspective. Both should realize that God speaks to his people through world history, even if his manifestation seems different to each of them.

Orthodox Christians and Muslims are invited to collaborate on a plan of values which will lead their common obligation to the welfare of mankind. This way, they will realize that, sharing their common religious experiences, it is possible for both of them to respond to God's will and look more deeply into the wealth of holy values which both Christians and Muslims developed through their history. Having realized God's multilateral activity, through the history of salvation, they should not confine their dialogue to satisfying a narrow circle of intellectuals. When the dialogue is enlarged and based on concrete realities, is enriched by new experiences of religious values, and has overcome the limits of tradition and environment inherited from the past, the two sides will be invited to a continuous transformation. This change will make them give up spiritual stagnation in order to adopt an active and a dynamic spirituality which will be the resumption and reconsideration of values; a sincere and objective inquiry will take place, so that God's influence and word will be manifested upon mankind.

Of course, dialogues differ as far as cause, history, method, purpose, and content are concerned. Some of them are ancient, some recent, and some contemporary. Some of them go on; some cease; some reappear and gain impetus. They are influenced positively or negatively by people, events, and circumstances. Some of them require a long preparation period and others a short time. Their degree of success depends very much on friendly and brotherly relations being constantly cultivated. If there have been differences and hostilities for centuries, or if the partners ignore each other because of their different mentalities, then their behavior must be reconsidered through their sincere relations and fraternal love. Then the dialogue among hearts starts, which becomes the dialogue of love. Today Orthodox Christians and Muslims are invited to inaugurate this type of dialogue, beyond any good or bad implications, beyond any political activities and interferences.

The struggle for the survival of social justice, freedom, and peace—the common interests of mankind—are in reality factors which,

while they continue to exist, unite and create a new climate for human relations, making the dialogue more and more fruitful. Another encouraging factor besides the goodwill which has already been expressed by both sides is the foundation of cultural institutions whose purpose will be the encouragement of dialogue, the creation of an atmosphere for breaking down the long-standing barrier which had hindered any possibilities for a dialogue and had caused unwillingness and embarrassment for discussions, however desirable, by both sides.

The study and teachings of the Hellenic-Islamic-Christian philosophy which is the common heritage of the Western and Middle East civilizations will help tremendously in the dialogue between Orthodox Christians and Muslims. This will certainly be realized in the near future, since this field is just starting to be explored as far as Muslim sources are concerned. As it has been mentioned by a wise man, who is a speaker at this symposium, while referring to the Islamic philosophy of the Middle Ages, "there are still many unknown events, many writings forgotten for centuries and not studied since. These writings come to light little by little; they are issued and studied over again." It is providential that the efforts concerning the dialogue take place in a period when science and technology guarantee an unlimited objective where contemporary cultural spirit contributes to the fact that mankind knows itself better, something that did not exist in the past.

The above-mentioned elements should strengthen the hope that the deep wish for the unity of the believers will be realized. At the same time, both Christians and Muslims will be aware of their great obligation and responsibility to support the dialogue steadily with patience and respect. Their common monotheism will help them to understand better that God's will for unity will have the last word.

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George S. Bebis
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

The Meaning of Theology: An Essay in Greek Patristics. By George Dragas. Darlington: n.p., 1980. Pp. 101. Paperbound.

Father George Dragas, a lecturer in patristics at the University of Durham and a respected patristics scholar, delivered a series of lectures on the topic of the meaning of theology at the Carmelite Monastery of the Assumption of the Mother of God, Ushaw Moor. The author informs us that his lectures were intended primarily for undergraduate students, and more especially for those who wanted to acquire some basic understanding of the theological acumen of the Greek Fathers. To that effect, Father Dragas succeeded very well.

He quite correctly presents an overall description of the Greek term "theologia" as ancient Greek poets who were, in reality, the first "theologians" because they spoke about gods in a mythical setting. Thus their theology was a "mythological" theology. However, Plato and Aristotle elevated theology to philosophical theology, and its methodology leads to a conceptional or rational grasping of the divine. Thus, this philosophical theology is superior and qualitatively higher than philosophy by itself. Whereas with the poets "philosophy begins where theology ends," with Plato and Aristotle, "theology begins where philosophy ends." Later, such Neo-Platonists as Plutarch and Proinos offered a more "functional" understanding of philosophical theology by emphasizing the relationship of God and man. There is no doubt, as Father Dragas correctly notes, that Greek theology was cosmological and anthropological in character thus attempting to explain the nature of things, particularly the nature of existence and non-existence and of good and evil. The basic tool of this Greek theology is man's capacity to think and reason.

The first step taken to put the term *theologeîn* or "to theologize" in a biblical setting was made by Philo, who attempted to translate Old Testament theology into Greek idiomatic language. This biblical, prophetic theology conveys God's word about man and the world, whereas ancient Greek philosophical theology conveys man's

reasoning about God and the world. Father Dragas stresses the fact that the former is revelation while the latter is discovery. For him, the distinctions are not absolute; they simply denote direction and emphasis. Some, of course, will object to this external distinction between Greek philosophy and biblical theology because they find a profound chasm and separation in their inherent nature. The first is humanly inspired, the second divinely inspired. The first is anthropological, the second displays the marvelous effort of uniting the human and divine.

The author notes that the early Christian Apologists were reluctant to use the term "theologia" because of its association with Greek mythology. Hippolytos also was hesitant, but Clement of Alexandria speaks clearly about the "theology of idols" and the "right or true theology" of the Christians. Origen, of course, who gives to the term "theologia" its Christocentric meaning and character, wrote in his work on Proverbs, "It was the Lord then who gave theology to his genuine disciples, and we find the traces of that theology in what they wrote, and following them we also learn to theologize" (Migne, PG 17.229A). Above all, however, it was Saint Athanasios who put the term "theology" in its complete association with the Holy Trinity. Thus theology becomes the life, faith, and truth of the Holy Trinity. Moreover, Father Dragas correctly emphasizes the contribution of Eusebios of Caesarea to the development of the term "theologia." Eusebios accepts the preparatory character of ancient Greek philosophy or theology, as well as Hebrew theology, which deals with the faith of the Creator of all things.

Father Dragas also discusses Didymos the Blind, Epiphanius, Diodoros, and Evagrius of Pontos. He concludes with the Cappadocian Fathers whose theology he calls a "new school." This "school" includes Saint Basil of Caesarea, Saint Gregory the Theologian, Saint Gregory of Nyssa, and Saint Amphilochios of Ikonion. Again the emphasis here is on the trinitarian doctrine of God, and on the revelation and salvation of mankind from the three Persons of the Holy Trinity. Although the Cappadocians distinguish between the "economic" and "theological" nature of Christian teaching, they all emphasize the unity of economy and theology in all the acts of the Trinity.

Father Dragas does not neglect the innermost spiritual experience of Christian theology, its liturgical function, and its catholic redemptive encompassment. He ends with an epilogue, and a useful glossary, and bibliography.

There is no doubt that Father Dragas has contributed substantially and successfully to one of the most difficult subjects of patristic tradition and thought. He appears to know his sources and is most able to convey to us the profound message of patristic theology. Although the lecturing style can be detected, nevertheless, we have at hand a most useful book from the pen of an excellent theologian.

George S. Bebis

Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

G.O.T.R. 31 (86).

St. Savvas the New. Volume 8 in *Modern Orthodox Saints*, By Constantine Cavarinos. Belmont, MA.: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1985. Pp. 144. Cloth, \$8.95.

Professor Cavarinos has had a distinguished career, represented by his writings in classical philosophy, American philosophy, Greek letters, Byzantine thought, art, theology, Orthodox studies, and Orthodox hagiography. His works are in both Greek and English, in which he has both fluency and a charming style and, in translation, in other languages. His scholarly productivity, from the Bowen prizes which he won for his philosophical writings while studying at Harvard to his present study in Orthodox theological thought, has brought him and his books to the attention of a wide scholarly readership and of general readers, too. I mention all of this so that there is no possibility that one might misunderstand my following comment, to wit, that this author does not receive the attention that he deserves from the scholarly community. However distinguished his career, however eminent his stand among Orthodox scholars, the fact is that his books call for an acclaim of rather momentous proportion. But then, again, perhaps this is not best for the man.

If there is a single series in Orthodox hagiography in the English language that one could call indispensable, it is Cavarinos' eight-volume series on contemporary Orthodox saints, beginning with a volume on Saint Kosmas Aitolos, the "Father" of modern Greek saints. Like their author, these volumes have received abundant acclaim, critical attention of a positive kind, and enthusiastic praise from the Orthodox faithful. But again, as with the author himself, I do not

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The Nicæan Creed, Filioque, and Pentecostal Movements in the United States

GERALD T. SHEPPARD

INTRODUCTION

AN ATTEMPT TO DESCRIBE pentecostal movements can be ventured only after admitting that no definition of "pentecostals" will satisfy all groups claiming that name. For our purposes I prefer an inclusive definition of pentecostal churches, namely those who advocate some form of "Spirit" baptism replicative of what the disciples received at the first Pentecost described in Acts, chapter two. "Speaking in tongues" or *glossolalia* may or may not be required by these churches as a sign of such a Spirit baptism, though it usually is, and, in any case, *glossolalia* is not forbidden. Usually a restoration of other apostolic gifts is more important than *glossolalia*, especially healing and testimony of experiencing the sanctifying power and presence of God. The focus of this paper will be on the classical pentecostal movement associated with an emphasis on *glossolalia* which gained public notoriety during the massive revivals of the early twentieth century. I am fully aware that many of my generalizations will not satisfy other pentecostal interpreters. Such a complex set of movements make any sweeping overview precarious. At most, I can draw an empathetic scenario for various groups which deserve more participation among us and much more historical research.

"Ecumenicity" and the Christian Confession among "Pentecostals"

From the classic pentecostal point of view, an assessment of pentecostal "theology" or doctrinal statements invites misunderstanding

at the outset. On the one hand, movements of pneumatic enthusiasm, such as those associated with contemporary pentecostal and charismatic groups, are predicated on only a few slim points of doctrinal agreement, putting more emphasis on an ecumenicity inherent in the common experience of lives realized and secured in the power of the Holy Spirit. A well-known British pentecostal spokesperson, Donald Gee, expressed this dimension when he wrote,

When we "came out" for Pentecost we came out not merely for a theory, or a doctrine: we came out for a burning, living, mighty *experience* that revolutionized our lives. The Baptism in the Spirit which we sought and realized was a *reality*, even though we probably understood little of the doctrines involved at the time. How different, then, from the purely doctrinal and theoretical issues involved in this matter.¹

The excitement of overcoming denominational barriers and of setting most doctrinal nuances aside in an experience of common affirmation pervades the earliest pentecostal testimonies. The tabloid published during the Azusa Street revival (considered by many the true beginning of twentieth-century pentecostal identity) is entitled appropriately for our present concern: "The Apostolic Faith." At the beginning, a succinct, *ad hoc* summation of faith affirms the beliefs of the participants,

The Apostolic Faith Movement. Stands for the restoration of the faith once delivered unto the saints—the old time religion, camp meetings, revivals, missions, street and prison work and Christian Unity everywhere.

At the end of a statement regarding "justification . . . of God's "free grace," "sanctification," "The Baptism with the Holy Ghost," and "seeking healing," we find the assurance,

We are not fighting men or churches, but seeking to replace the dead forms and creeds and wild fanaticisms with living, practical Christianity. "Love, faith, Unity" are our watchwords . . . ²

¹ "Tests for 'Fuller Revelations,' *The Pentecostal Evangel*, February 14, 1925.

² *The Apostolic Faith* 1/1 (1906) p. 2.

On the other hand, the repetition of the phrase “we ‘came out’ ” in the above mentioned statement by Donald Gee betrays the utopian dimension typical of such an optimistic ecumenicity of the Spirit. There is inevitably a divisive element to the testimony by a group which claims to have been the recipient of a divine visitation, gift, realization, or fulfillment—no matter how ecumenically diverse the backgrounds of those in the group. Either everyone else from those backgrounds joins the movement and “comes out” also, or dramatic political transformations must take place allowing for a highly diverse degree of doctrinal options. For this reason, I think that the Roman Catholic scholar, Donald L. Gelpi, correctly locates “pentecostalism” in church history as part of a whole series of periodic movements of the Spirit known for their “divisive enthusiasm.”³ If, for a brief moment, racial, doctrinal, class, regional, denominational, and sexist barriers seemed to have disappeared in the pentecostal “outpouring” at Azusa Street under the tutelage of a Black Holiness preacher, William J. Seymour, the “unity” of this galvanizing moment in the formation of American pentecostals quickly dissipated.

In the place of a unified congregation of Christians “baptized in/with the Spirit” there arose a plethora of independent churches, new denominations, and movements frequently divided by either some of the traditional barriers of race, class, and creed or by new differences over leadership, church order, practical aspects of ministry, or doctrinal positions.⁴ Later, a massive, somewhat less divided Hispanic pentecostal movement arose in the 1930s, often considered a mission church of the Assemblies of God, nurtured by some remarkable hispanic leaders, such as Mexican-born Francisco Olazabal. The pentecostal call for the “unity” of all Christians, regardless of denominational affiliations, found justification in their sense that God had revived the essence of apostolic faith “in these last days.” Pentecostals often tried to overcome disunity among Christians by discrediting what they perceived as divisive creeds. They saw themselves as the fulfillment of an eschatological promise, as the leaven

³ *Pentecostalism: A Roman Catholic Viewpoint* (New York, 1971).

⁴ Cf. Grant Wacker, “Primitive Pentecostalism in America: A Cultural Profile,” in *Problems in the Pentecostal-Charismatic Movement*, ed. Harold D. Hunter (Cleveland, TN, 1983). For a provocative discussion of ecumenical attitudes within the Assemblies of God, see Cecil M. Robeck, “Name and Glory: The Ecumenical Challenge,” *ibid.*

in the lump that would help bring about a single united Christian Church. Their thwarted hopes echo today in the continued refusal of many large organizations of churches (e.g. the Assemblies of God) to recognize themselves as constituting "denominations," despite the external trappings of general council meetings and rules for ordination and ministry. Pentecostal groups have responded in various ways to other types of ecumenical opportunities among Christian churches—Caucasian and Hispanic pentecostals have generally sided with "evangelical" associations against the NCCC; Black pentecostal churches find racism still a barrier to any ecumenical endeavor, including the white spin-off of evangelical coalitions: The Pentecostal Fellowship of North America.

Ambivalence Toward the "Nicene Creed"

Before addressing the specific issue of the *filioque* controversy, the pejorative assessment of the Nicene Creed among many pentecostal churches must be directly confronted. As should be evident from the above quotations, pentecostals generally regarded creeds as signs of "formalism," denominationalism, spiritually dead recital, and unsanctified confession. People who acquired the "new" pentecostal experience felt that they had transcended centuries of neglected apostolic faith through the recovery of a Christian gift, experiencing now just what the disciples received in the Upper Room. Stanley Frodsham, one of the earliest editors of a pentecostal periodical, expressed this dimension well:

This same year (1908), the Lord filled the writer with the Spirit, making no difference between him and those at the beginning (at the first-century Pentecost). He was soon awakened to the fact that he was one of a large, worldwide fellowship. There were Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Holiness people, Christians from every denomination and from no denomination, who had received a like experience.⁵

Frodsham's pentecostal identity rested on his personal testimony and had been prompted by the teaching of William Seymour, who affirmed that,

⁵ *With Signs Following*, rev. ed. (Springfield, MO, 1941), p. 7.

when any one receives the Baptism in the Spirit according to the original pattern, he will have a similar experience to that which the disciples had on the day of Pentecost, and speak in tongues just as they did on that occasion.⁶

From the perspective of these "pentecostal" believers, with their newfound sense of the power of God in and through their lives, came the view that, sometime after the Apostolic Age, the Christian Church had failed to treasure what God had chosen to reestablish "in these last days." Pentecostals commonly cited the prophecy of Joel 2.23 to the effect that there would be a "former" and "latter rain." The former they identified with the first Pentecost of the Apostles, and the present manifestation was seen as the "'Latter Rain' outpouring," a sign of the end of this age and the imminence of the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.

Consequently, for most pentecostals, creeds indicated a departure from apostolic faith for two reasons: a) because of their lack of concern with practical Christianity, emphasizing formal doctrine instead, and b) because of their origin in and support for an episcopacy alien to the priesthood of believers and detrimental to fostering the kind of intimacy in the Christian community reported from the apostolic period. By the first criticism pentecostals challenged other Christians who no longer hoped for the occurrence of miracles, healings, *glossolalia*, and other indications of the Spirit commonplace in early Christianity. Faith expressed through creeds seemed idealized, a set of bloodless abstractions, divorced from the reality of God's presence in everyday life. Pentecostals insisted that many Christians who knew how to talk to God, had ceased to walk with God. Correct or not, they saw in the "mainline" denominational churches an anemic, pious repetition of "creeds," lacking in evidence of dynamic testimonies, of lives empowered by the same spiritual resources available to the first Christians. They preached that apostolic Christianity could now be "recovered" through a fresh pentecostal experience and that the need for denominations defined by differing creeds should cease to exist.

The second argument against creeds saw them as the product of an apostate church, often associated with the episcopacy of "Romanism." I will cite one fairly detailed example of this criticism,

⁶ Frodsham, p. 31.

partly to illustrate how the question about the significance of creeds gained serious attention. At an address on the occasion of the Eighth Annual Assembly of the Churches of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), Brother Spurling epitomized their view of church history: "The Church from its state of virginity drifted into Roman Catholicism."⁷ He made an analogy between the Church and a locomotive, with John the disciple as the "civil engineer." God intended this train to ride upon the two golden rails of loving God and loving one's neighbor as oneself. The power of Pentecost provided the fuel. However, both Roman Catholics and even the protestant Reformers (who "failed to reform from creeds"⁸) had proliferated various creeds, based on their "glimpses of truth," which represented "side tracks." Early in church history opposition began to grow when the train began its move ahead:

Satan now sees that at that rate he would soon be left with no people so he set about a plan to derail the engine.

About 320 A.D. Alexander and Tiranos, two great leaders, met at Constantinople and formed a creed from which the many different man-made creeds have had their origin.

Here in this division they left the golden rails of the law of love and made their own rails of wood upon which the heavenly train could not run as they were narrow gauge.⁹

Later, at the Tenth Annual Assembly in 1914, the General Overseer contrasts what he considers to be a divinely ordained "theocratic" government enacted by the apostles with the later "episcopal form of government" in the second and third centuries inaugurated by those who later adopted the Nicene creed. The events at Nicea are portrayed in pejorative terms:

. . . there was much discussion with no regulations by the exercise of any external authority. The Arian party made an effort to submit the draft of a creed which called forth violent disapprobation and was literally torn in pieces by the excited

⁷*Book of Minutes: A Compiled History of the Work of the General Assemblies of the Church of God* (Cleveland, TN, 1922), p. 98.

⁸*Ibid.* p. 137.

⁹*Ibid.* p. 99.

assemblage. When this failed to pass, Eusebios produced a confession of faith which he had been taught in his youth as the faith of the church of Palestine. This also failed to meet the approval of the orthodox faction so it was dismissed. Finally, however, a creed was produced by the opposers of Arianism that was received and the announcement was made that the creed of the Church was settled.

This action resulted in the disruption and division of the Church. At that very moment it ceased to be the Church of God, for God's Church has no creed.¹⁰

These strong objections to the Nicene Creed grow out of a yearning for "apostolic order" and a unified Christianity. Some pentecostal groups, like the Churches of God, thought that fresh biblical study would yield the proper "Bible plans of (church) order."¹¹ Moreover, a new realization of the Spirit would accompany this exegetical task so that "when the final decision is reached the Holy Spirit will so set His approval on it that there will scarcely be a whisper of dissension."¹² By this example, I wish neither to defend this assumption nor to imply that all pentecostals thought in exactly these same terms. At a minimum, such views were not unusual among pentecostal groups; despite their divergent forms, pentecostals shared—like their counterparts in the first century—a utopian vision of a unified Christianity on the edge of the Eschaton. The darkened glass was surely clearing in a manner that ought to allow all Christians to see both where

¹⁰Ibid. pp. 163f.

¹¹The anxiety over time of this search surfaces verbally at places in the *Minutes*. In his annual address of 1912, the General Overseer remarked, "Beneath the folds of that Book, somewhere, is the perfect plan for setting forth and ordaining ministers, and if it is not found and put into practice God will let us make shipwreck, and will raise up others that He can trust with His business. This is a subject of too great weight and importance to be lightly esteemed. Every member of this assembly should humble himself and earnestly seek God for a special revelation of His Word and will, so that, if mistakes have been made in the past in regard to the plan we have practiced, the correction should be made here and now, and this convention should not be dismissed until the Bible plan is ascertained and preparation made for the practice of it hereafter." Ibid. p. 58.

¹²Ibid. p. 165.

Christian history had gone astray from its true foundations and how to recover the original "apostolic faith."

Though Nicea became associated with a perjorative view of a hierarchical apostolic succession and the episcopate of priests, this criticism did not mean that pentecostals were in principle opposed to statements of doctrine. They would occasionally admit even to some value served by creeds. One of the first systematic approaches to theology was written by a highly respected pentecostal teacher, Myer Pearlman, who writes positively about "formulations of dogmas, that is, interpretations which define the doctrine and 'fence' it against error."¹³ As an instance, Pearlman refers to the Athanasian Creed and reproduces this post-Nicean statement verbatim for his readers. Aware that some pentecostals may raise objections, he notes:

This statement may appear dry, involved and hair-splitting to us, but in the early days, it proved an effective means of preserving the correct statement of truths that were precious and vital to the Church.¹⁴

Most pentecostals understood well that the gifts of the Holy Spirit could only *confirm* what was *taught* as doctrine by the apostles.¹⁵ Correct doctrine could be established, as in the first century, only by an appeal to apostolic tradition, that is, the testimony of prophets and apostles later preserved for us in Scripture. The maturation of the pentecostal movement, with its own experience of doctrinal controversy, led to increasingly stronger *ad hoc* statements of faith looking very much like creeds. The impulse to show that "speaking in tongues" and other related gifts are found throughout church history has, also, allowed many groups to make a more positive assessment of the intervening centuries between the "former" and the "latter" rain of the Spirit. Most importantly, rather than thinking of themselves as innovative theologians, pentecostals considered their views of the Trinity unoriginal and simply orthodox. The exceptional situation of a minority of "Jesus Only" pentecostals provides the only self-consciously idiosyncratic proposal which, for the limited purposes of this paper, I cannot discuss in great detail.

¹³*Knowing the Doctrines of the Bible* (Springfield, MO, 1937), p. 71.

¹⁴Pearlman, p. 72.

¹⁵*What Meaneth This? A Pentecostal Answer to a Pentecostal Question* (Springfield, MO, 1947), p. 80.

Filioque Clause and Pentecostal Understandings of the Trinity

At the outset, pentecostals have made only passing reference, if at all, to the “*filioque* clause” in their surveys of church history. It played no significant role in any pentecostal discussion, to my knowledge. Its citation may be described as an endeavor to mark any occurrence of positive church statements about the Holy Spirit. Minimally pentecostal appeals to church history confirm a deep ambiguity within their own ranks—church history can serve both to document the loss of true apostolic faith after the first century or it may attest to the normal Christian character of pentecostal religious experience by confirming precedence of the same in favored figures (e.g. Tertullian) and confessional expressions (even creeds) throughout Christian history. One might mention the *filioque* as one of those latter “places in the sun” for pentecostals who were concerned to refute charges that they might be historically unorthodox, abnormal, or fanatic.

Nevertheless, many of the underlying issues at stake in the historic controversy over the *filioque* have been of great interest to pentecostals, even though most pentecostals have yet to realize that fact. The pentecostal restorationist view of Christianity inevitably destined them to “re-play” certain aspects of church history, complete with the shaping of doctrinal statements in response to perceived “heresy.” Within a decade after the galvinizing Azusa Street revivals of 1906, both Black and Caucasian pentecostal groups were divided over a trinitarian controversy, called the “Jesus Only” movement. In its extreme form, some “Jesus Only” pentecostals argued that the idea of the “Trinity” had been forced upon the Church at the Council of Nicea by the bishop of Rome. Biblical texts were used to support the idea of convert baptism in the name of Jesus alone, instead of the trinitarian formula. This “new issue” grew essentially out of an attempt to follow a “Bible order” in baptism.¹⁶ Many “Jesus Only” pentecostals held that the one person of the Godhead was Jesus Christ, for whom terms like “Father” and “Son” are merely labels, while others advocated more of a dynamistic modalism associated with an economic view of the Trinity. Reacting against the “new issue,” most pentecostals found themselves confessing a view of the Trinity remarkably similar to or borrowed from the Nicene Creed, which they

¹⁶Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, 1971), pp. 154f.

may have previously portrayed in entirely negative terms. Against their idealism, most pentecostal groups were forced to nuance their doctrinal statements and sharply distinguish themselves from the "Jesus Only" movement which had attracted some prominent early leaders along with many of their church members and led to new, independent churches and separate pentecostal movements.

Reading the early pentecostal trinitarian statements, a church historian will be struck by the admixture of formulae and phrases which "trickle down" from standard Christian creeds alongside original expressions designed to eliminate a "Jesus Only" possibility. Still, pentecostals tried to retain an emphasis on affirming the mystery of the three-in-one with its biblical support. In statements of the Black pentecostal Church of God (Memphis, Tennessee), one is reminded that, "The conception of the divine trinity may only be apprehended through revelation"; that is to say, one comes to "know that this One being consists in the three persons, of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as he finds this stated and portrayed in Holy Scripture."¹⁷ In the Assemblies of God a lengthy statement on "The Adorable Godhead" was added in 1916 in response to the "Jesus Only" controversy. Admitting that the terms "Trinity" and "Persons" are "not to be found in Scripture," the statement asserts, nonetheless, that these "words are in harmony with Scripture." The statement emphasizes "the distinction of Persons in the Godhead," though acknowledging that "this distinction and relationship, as to its mode is *inscrutable* and *incomprehensible*, because *unexplained*" in scripture. Lest the impression be left that pentecostals are entirely ignorant or could care less about these issues, the next two articles found in the 1916 Assemblies' Statement of Fundamental Truths refute that assumption:

Unity of the One Being of Father, Son and Holy Spirit

Accordingly, therefore, there is *that* in the Son which constitutes Him *the Son* and not the Father; and there is *that* in the Holy Ghost which constitutes Him *the Holy Ghost* and not either the Father or the Son. Wherefore the Father is the Begetter, the Son is the Begotten, and the Holy Ghost is the one proceeding from the Father and the Son. Therefore, because these three persons in the Godhead are in a state of unity, there is but one Lord God

¹⁷O. T. Jones and J. E. Bryant, *Manuel of the Church of God in Christ* (n.p., 1936), pp. 8f.

Almighty and His name one. John 1.18; 15.26; 17.11,21; Zech. 14.9.

Identity and Cooperation in the Godhead

The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are never identical as to *Person*; nor *confused* as to *relation*; nor *divided* in respect to the Godhead; nor *opposed* as to *cooperation*. The Son is *in* the Father and the Father is *in* the the Son as to relationship. The Son is *with* the Father and the Father is *with* the Son, as to fellowship. The Father is not *from* the Son, but the Son is *from* the Father, as to authority. The Holy Ghost is *from* the Father and the Son proceeding, as to nature, relationship, cooperation and authority. Hence, neither Person in the Godhead either exists or works separately or independently of the others. John 5.17-30, 32,37; John 8.17,18.

One must be careful still not to assign too much weight to every nuance in any of these pentecostal statements, because they were written for the purpose of solving particular problems. The appearance of the *filioque* clause in this last one is in the form of a simple repetition of what is perceived to be an orthodox position and plays no central role in later pentecostal discussions of the Trinity or the role of the Holy Spirit. For instance, when the Assemblies teacher Myer Pearlman treats the Trinity, he refutes the heresy of "Sabellianism" and offers the following view against "sharp distinctions" drawn between the trinitarian persons:

The Father is preeminently Creator, yet the Son and the Spirit are described as cooperating in that work. The Son is preeminently the Redeemer, yet God the Father and the Holy Spirit are described as sending the Son to redeem. The Holy Spirit is the Sanctifier, yet the Father and the Son cooperate in that work.¹⁸

In these and other expressions pentecostals sought to confess the three-in-oneness in a balanced manner without confusing the economic roles of the three persons; the *filioque* clause pointed in this direction but was not definitive nor necessarily understood. Certainly the controversy behind it remained unknown. Their affirmation of the "mystery" of the Trinity cautioned them against employing too freely extra-biblical terminology beyond what they perceived to be biblical warrants.

¹⁸Pearlman, p. 69.

The Present World Council Debate and Pentecostal Self-Interest

As I understand the present discussion in the World Council of Christian Churches, surrounding the possible use of the Nicene Creed as a statement of apostolic faith and the role of the *filioque* clause in it, pentecostals have much to benefit from it and their voice deserves to be heard in this debate. Certainly, many of the issues in the present controversy are cast in philosophical and/or theological terms foreign to twentieth-century pentecostal history. My response can only point toward a potential which I think and hope is realistic. Before addressing the larger scenario of how the Nicene Creed can be a statement of apostolic faith, some brief consideration may be useful regarding the stake pentecostals should have in the question of *filioque* and the Nicene Creed.

Pentecostal interests in this present controversy must necessarily be at a high level of generality. In practical terms, the debate may appear to pentecostals as a classic confrontation between the churches of East and West. The position of the West seems most concerned to link the Spirit immanently with Jesus Christ lest movements of the Spirit minimize the corrective of the Word of God in Christ. Conversely, the East sees a danger in the response of the West, perhaps due in part to the nature of the West's confrontation and triumph over gnosticism. However, as Photios and subsequent Eastern Orthodox theologians have argued, the creedal formulations in the West may seem to treat the Holy Spirit as an inferior member of the Trinity. Pentecostals would pose a similar challenge to the Western church. Though little informed about Eastern Orthodoxy, pentecostals share the anti-"Romanism" from the Puritan Reformation. However, they realized that the Reformers dismissed or condemned Anabaptist and charismatic groups within the so-called "Radical Reformation" as well. Hence, in their view, the Reformers, "not reformed from [Roman Catholic] creeds" of the West, still perpetuated an atrophied understanding of the importance of the Holy Spirit in daily Christian life. Though pentecostals did not foresee problems in the Reformers' affirmations of the Trinity, they often felt that the reformation creeds paid inadequate attention to either practical Christianity or the significance of the Holy Spirit in the Church Age. Consequently, when pentecostals proffered their own trinitarian statements (as above), the expressions often attempted a fuller explication of the role of the Spirit within the Trinity than was familiar from the Nicene Creed, with or without the *filioque* clause. My suspicions are that, given a fair hearing,

pentecostals would find the Eastern Orthodox critique foreign in language but more familiar in content than that of the West.¹⁹

Pentecostals generally have been much less concerned with theories about the immanent Trinity than with stating a position which in practical terms precludes the unorthodox views of tritheism, dynamic modalism, or unitarianism (with the exception of the minority "Jesus Only" pentecostals). At the same time, the Trinity remains a mystery revealed through Scripture. Pentecostals concentrated their trinitarian reflection more explicitly on the economic activity of the Trinity in salvation, sanctification, and the filling with the Holy Spirit. Only in this area of trinitarian discussion do most pentecostals feel that they have something to preserve in apostolic faith and to contribute to the Church at large. The particular problem for pentecostals concerns the ambiguity of the phrase "the baptism of the Holy Spirit," a phrase popular in the Holiness movements of the nineteenth century and articulated attractively in America through the works by Asa Maham and R. A. Torrey. In economic terms, pentecostals needed to discern differences in the role of the Holy Spirit in various peak Christian experiences associated with salvation, sanctification, and spiritual empowerment.

This was the issue that preceded the genesis of what we think of today as the pentecostal—"tongues speaking"—movement of the twentieth century. For example, at the turn of the century, Arthur T. Pierson published a provocatively bold book entitled, *Forward Movements of the Last Half Century: A Glance at the More Marked Philanthropic, Missionary, and Spiritual Movements Characteristic of Our Time*. He devotes a chapter to something called, "The Pentecostal Movement," best exhibited in contemporary revivals in Uganda. Pierson justifies his use of this label to describe the success of that mission work by explaining in Keswick-like fashion that the Bible teaches a difference between the conversion of Jesus' disciples by which they had the Holy Spirit "*with them*" and the experience at Pentecost when the Spirit was revealed as "*in them*." In the latter

¹⁹Cf. *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, ed. Lukas Vischer (London, 1981). Many of the Orthodox concerns over the *filioque* would be shared by pentecostals. The Old Catholic response by Kurt Stalder, however, concurs with pentecostal suspicions that the Creed needs to say more in order to fully reflect apostolic faith. As Stadler observes, "... the form of the Creed without the *filioque* which we regard as the ecumenical one and advocate ourselves does not seem to us to meet all requirements." Ibid. p. 109.

case, one obtained a post-conversion experience of "the power of the Holy Spirit" which is the "last and greatest gift of God"; Christian neglect to seek the fullness of this "gift" in modern times means that those now receiving "in our day *come into an entirely new experience by the enduement of the Holy Spirit.*"²⁰

The "pentecostals" of the twentieth century, though often equivocal in their understanding of sanctification, have continued to distinguish the role of the Spirit at conversion from that of a subsequent empowerment associated with the apostolic pentecostal experience. The phrase "baptism of the Holy Spirit" might wrongly imply that pentecostals minimize the working of the Spirit in the lives of those converts lacking a subsequent, empowering experience. Since Christians are all baptized "of the Spirit," the difference between conversion and sanctification/empowerment needed clarification. Most pentecostal groups resolved this problem by noting the ambiguity of the genitive preposition "of" in the expression, "baptism of the Holy Spirit." Was it a subjective or objective genitive? Was one baptized *by* the Spirit at Pentecost or *in* or *with* the Spirit? The prevailing pentecostal solution is to argue that the Holy Spirit baptizes us *in Jesus Christ* at conversion, while after conversion the resurrected Lord baptizes us *in* or *with the Holy Spirit* as at Pentecost.²¹ Though these matters do not directly touch on the question regarding the "procession" of the Holy Spirit within an intrinsic formulation of the Trinity they do convey the concern of pentecostals in any discussion of matters of practical Christian experience and the need to articulate how the Holy Spirit can be appreciated as an essential person in the cooperative work of the Trinity through Christian faith and praxis. Without the Spirit our praxis may fail to accompany the knowledge of the Word of God in Christ; without the Word of God in Christ the Spirit might empower only our mystical (I-Thou) sense of God's presence among us.

An Ecumenical Future

Pentecostals have much to learn from the current ecumenical

²⁰(New York, 1901), p. 141.

²¹E.g., Ralph M. Riggs, *The Spirit Himself* (Springfield, MO, 1949), pp. 42-61; P. C. Nelson, *Bible Doctrines* (Springfield, MO, 1948), esp. pp. 86f., cf. "note" on p. 86.

controversy regarding the *filioque* clause and the Nicene Creed. Recent Vatican sponsored dialogues between pentecostals and Roman Catholics have already helped to dispel some prejudices pentecostals inherited from the Puritan ethos of North America. More familiarity by pentecostals with the Orthodox Churches and the arguments of the Greek Fathers could expose other significant points of resonance, particularly on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. There was a time when pentecostals could write a testimonial history of their movement under the title: *Suddenly From Heaven*.²² While other denominations celebrated their particular founders, pentecostals themselves claimed to have no human founders at all. A more mature sense of history has slowly dispelled this myth of how things began and pentecostals have steadily been forced to become more modest about their place in church history, without abnegating the special place they justly deserve. The process of education and discernment continues throughout these churches at a quickening pace. The number of seminarians and graduate students from pentecostal backgrounds has increased exponentially within the last decade. Until the recent past, a number of large pentecostal groups have looked to fundamentalism and evangelicalism for norms of "orthodoxy" in matters outside of pentecostal distinctives. The pluralism of contemporary seminary experiences among pentecostal pastors and teachers will undoubtedly complicate this picture in the decades ahead. How pentecostals will respond to the gifts and the seductions of modernity, as well as to the guidance and betrayal of "historic" Christian churches, remains an open question.

Currently, pentecostals have shown little interest in how the so-called "mainstream" denominations solve the differences over the *filioque* clause, but pentecostals should be involved and, given more opportunity, will be. More critical reflection by pentecostals on the role of church creeds is inevitable, and the Nicene is a good point of departure, because of its significance in the present ecumenical debate. Attitudes toward the Nicene Creed and others in church history are certainly changing among pentecostals, even though most would hold it to be at best an inadequate and at worst a distorted expression of apostolic faith among Christians. In general, confessions about the economic Trinity remain more pertinent to pentecostals than statements about the immanent

²²The title of an early pentecostal history by Carl Brumback.

Trinity.²³ How God in three Persons is actually present in the practical life of faith is far more important than specifying precisely what hypostasies distinguish the mysterious inner working of the Persons of the Trinity. Pentecostals may seem to be cruelly egalitarian when they speak of the Godhead. Each Person of the Trinity must be experienced as a real, transforming presence or face of God if the Church is to know God fully within the limits of God's self-revelation. While the Nicene Creed may state well *some* apostolic faith which pentecostals need to learn more about, it fails to state, for pentecostals, the faith, or the "Full Gospel," of the apostles. This dilemma—whether the Nicene Creed is merely inadequate or thoroughly distorted due to episcopacy—is a serious one for pentecostals who have traditionally yearned for the visible unity of the Church.

²³Pentecostals may find a better avenue into the ecumenical discussion when the debate over the Trinity is cast in doxological and economic terms of Christian faith. Such an orientation is, in my opinion, one of the many strengths in the various works of Geoffrey Wainwright. See his chapter on "Church and Spirit," pp. 19-30, *The Ecumenical Moment: Crisis and Opportunity for the Church* (Grand Rapids, 1983).

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Contemporary Traditionalist Orthodox Thought. By Bishop Chrysostomos, Hieromonk Auxentios, and Archimandrite Akakios. Etna, CA.: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1986. Pp. vi + 93. Paperbound, \$5.00.

The Old Calendar Church of Greece. By Bishop Chrysostomos, Hieromonk Ambrosios, and Hieromonk Auxentios. Etna, CA.: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1986. Pp. iii + 110. Paperbound, \$5.00.

Contemporary Traditionalist Orthodox Thought, without the present revisions, was first published as a book under the title *Contemporary Eastern Orthodox Thought: The Traditionalist Voice* by Nordland House Publishers of Belmont, Massachusetts in 1982. It is good to have it available again in a convenient paperback edition. It is a small book with valuable information and discussion for those who would like to know the essence of the Orthodox view in a truly comparative fashion. Bishop Chrysostomos stresses that "Orthodoxy must be seen in terms of its own priorities and traditions" and "to compare the unique Eastern view of the mysteries with the separate Western view of the sacraments is a far more fruitful and appropriate approach" (p. v) than simply to speak of Orthodox mysteries by way of reference to Western sacraments. This gives some idea of the tone of the book.

Most of the essays in this volume have been published in journals prior to their appearance in book form. "Notes on the Nature of God, the Cosmos, and *Novus Homo*: An Eastern Orthodox Perspective" appeared in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 21.3 (1976); "History and Politics of the Byzantine Church: Some Historiographical Perspectives" appeared in *Kleronomia* 3.2 (1976); "A Comparative Treatment of Scripture and Tradition in the Orthodox East and the Catholic and Protestant West" in *Diakonia* 16.3 (1981); "Dom David Knowles on Hesychasm: A Palamite Rejoinder" in *Kleronomia* 8.1 (1976); "St. Gregory Palamas on the Hesychasts" in *Diakonia* 15.3 (1980); "Some Thoughtful Comments on Orthodox Meditation" in *Diakonia* 14.2 (1979); but not the final two essays by Bishop Chrysostomos on "Cultural *Paradosis* and Orthodox America" and "Orthodoxy and the Cults."

There is a plan of organization to the eight essays that is intended to permit the reader to confront a variety of issues in Orthodox thought

from the point of view of Orthodox traditionalism, while at the same time pointing up the weaknesses of a referential approach. In the first essay the reader is shown the distinct categories of thought and goals of Eastern Orthodox Christianity. These include how the Orthodox view man, the world, salvation, and God in a way that is different from Western Christianity and distinctly Orthodox. The second essay enables the reader to retrace some of the historiographical prejudices that led Western scholars to lose knowledge of the Christian East. The third essay shows the sharp contrast between Eastern and Western views on Scripture and tradition (*Sola Scriptura* for the Protestants; the *magisterium* or infallible authority of the Church for the Roman Catholics). The fourth and fifth essays try to summarize the problem of referential approaches to Eastern Orthodox thought, especially as applied to the Western misunderstanding of the Hesychast tradition. In speaking of Saint Gregory Palamas, Bishop Chrysostomos observes quite acutely that, "The Hesychast is . . . unified with God, not by seeking something outside of himself or by taking the mind away from the body, but by placing the mind within the depths of the body, within the heart. In so doing, in confining the mind within itself, the hesychast becomes, ironically, an incorporeal being" (p. 57).

In the sixth essay Bishop Chrysostomos and Archimandrite Akakios offer a sharp critique of James Counelis' article on "Twelve Festal Meditations" from *Diakonia* 11.1 (1976) and use it as the basis for an admonition to Orthodox Americans of the inaccurate and limited understanding that results from seeing the Church in Western categories and outside the spiritual milieu of traditional Orthodoxy, while the seventh essay stresses that Orthodoxy possesses a spiritual and a social cultural ethos. The final essay by Bishop Chrysostomos is a strong rejection of the imposition of Western standards on Eastern Orthodoxy as a means of attaining any rational understanding of her witness and authority. In answer to Western critics, Bishop Chrysostomos appropriately cites Professor Constantine Cavarnos' remark that "our true ultimate end as Christians is *theosis*, deification, union with God. For this is why Christ became man, taught, suffered, was crucified, and rose from the dead—to show us by his words and deeds the way to *theosis*" (p. 87).

Contemporary Traditionalist Orthodox Thought is exceptionally rich in Orthodox content and firmly based on scriptural and patristic sources. The essays can be profitably read separately or together.

They are very clearly written and unusually well organized. They make for a superb collection of thoughtful essays.

The Old Calendar Church of Greece is an exact reprint of a volume issued in 1985 and reviewed in this journal (30.1, Spring 1985, pp. 86-87) at the time of its original publication. Only the Prologue by Metropolitan Cyprian has been replaced by a new prologue by Hieromonk Auxentios. The second printing is a clear indication that such a book about the Old Calendar Church was needed to provide English readers with a helpful account of the genesis of the Old Calendar movement, its characteristics as an historical and religious phenomenon, its past history and its current status, and particularly its relation to the Orthodox world of today.

Though *The Old Calendar Church of Greece* has produced some controversy in certain circles, it has also elicited fruitful discussion that will enable Orthodox Christians to get to know each other better.

Both books deserve careful reading.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

On the Divine Liturgy: Orthodox Homilies, Volume One. By Augustinos N. Kantiotes, Bishop of Florina. Trans. with a Foreword by Asterios Gerostergios. Belmont, MA.: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1986. Pp. 280. Cloth, \$13.95.

Father Asterios Gerostergios (Ph.D., Boston University), author of *St. Photios the Great* (1980) and *Justinian the Great, The Emperor and Saint* (1982), has performed an act of Christian love. He has faithfully translated the *Orthodox Homilies* of the Bishop of Florina into English on the occasion of that hierarch's fiftieth anniversary as a clergyman and preacher of the Greek Orthodox Church. The original Greek work was published in Athens by the Orthodox Missionary Brotherhood 'Ο Σταυρὸς (*The Cross*) in 1977. This first volume, devoted to the Liturgy of the Catechumens, contains sixty homilies in language that can be understood by a layperson of any background with no prior theological knowledge. It is addressed to the Orthodox churchgoer who could profit from regular and systematic reflection on each part of the Divine Liturgy of Saint John. The author draws freely from Scripture, from the Church Fathers, from the history of

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John McQuarrie: they should tell new stories.

The final task of Christian narrative theology is "to proclaim and manifest the Good News" (p. 15). Theologians must articulate this news by telling and living a story of Christ. After a brief chapter on the shape of stories, Tilley focuses mainly on stories told by and about Jesus. At the end of each of the chapters one finds a helpful annotated reading list. This is a valuable part of the book because it directs the interested reader to additional works which can only be mentioned in this overview.

With the exception of a few comments on the story of Creation, Tilley's argument rests wholly on New Testament material. One can hardly help asking why Tilley practically ignores the Old Testament witness which comprises two-thirds of every Christian theologian's Bible. Additionally, it is the Old Testament which contains numerous stories, certainly more than what is found in the New Testament corpus. Tilley is certainly correct in describing an approach which subordinates doctrine to the stories themselves as "a truly fresh approach to Christian theologizing" (p. xvii), but why does this new approach neglect a major part of the Bible where stories are ubiquitous? Tilley may have been less sanguine about the possibility of story language if he had noted that major portions of the Bible (Levitical laws, some Wisdom literature, Pauline epistles, for example) do not tell a story.

Despite these weaknesses, Tilley has provided a book which is well-researched and provocative. The author's lucid style and artistry make the book enjoyable.

Kenneth M. Craig, Jr.
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

G.O.T.R. 31 (86).

Symeon the New Theologian, the Practical and Theological Chapters and the Three Theological Discourses. Trans. with an Introduction by Paul McGuckin, C.P. Cistercian Studies Series: Number 41. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1982. Pp. 144. Cloth, \$17.95.

Saint Symeon the New Theologian has recently become very popular in Western theological literature. The massive increase of charismatics, pentecostals, and the apparent emphasis on the life of the Spirit by so-called reborn Christians brought about an additional

and fresh interest in Saint Symeon, the mystical theologian of the eleventh century. Paul McGuckin must be congratulated for his balanced introduction and excellent translation of these two important works of Saint Symeon. He correctly notes that the most important information concerning Symeon comes from Niketas Stethatos, the devoted disciple, biographer, and first editor of Saint Symeon's works.

McGuckin gives us a short but poignant description of Saint Symeon's life and brings out the "cult" of his spiritual father Symeon Eulabes, as well as his confrontation with the ecclesiastical authorities of Constantinople, most especially Patriarch Sergios and his *synkellos* Stephen, the metropolitan of Nikomedia. He also discusses quite successfully the problematics behind this clash. There is the emphasis by Saint Symeon, for instance, on the authority of the "spirituals," who were primarily monks who claimed to have the authority to hear confessions and to absolve sins. Did Symeon mean by this a degradation of the office of the priesthood, or that people outside of the hierarchical structure of the Church have the authority to absolve sins? There is no doubt that an external and superficial study of the works of Saint Symeon may sometimes lead the reader to believe that there is a kind of dualistic approach in Saint Symeon's theology. One can sometimes detect a special emphasis on the life of the Spirit. On the other hand, one can see that Symeon did not give up an inch as far as his respect for the doctrinal formularies and the liturgical function of the priesthood. Besides his theological discourses, Saint Symeon discusses continuously Orthodox doctrine and stresses the importance of the moral obligations of a Christian. Nevertheless, I would agree with the author that Saint Symeon would never have accepted a theological tradition, unless it was inaugurated and governed by the experience of the Holy Spirit. In other words, illumination in accordance with Saint Symeon's teaching becomes an integral part of Orthodox thought and life.

McGuckin used as the basis of his translation the Greek text of the *Sources Chretiennes* which was a good choice. The translation is smooth and stylistically attractive. By reading these texts one cannot but "become light" because, as Saint Symeon says, all that comes from the Holy Trinity is light and is given to us as arising from the Light and then our lives are filled with all the breathtaking gifts of God; we earn the reward of the vision of God, and become truly participants in the divine nature.

We owe many thanks to the translator for making these beautiful texts accessible to the contemporary English reader.

George S. Bebis
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

The Meaning of Theology: An Essay in Greek Patristics. By George Dragas. Darlington: n.p., 1980. Pp. 101. Paperbound.

Father George Dragas, a lecturer in patristics at the University of Durham and a respected patristics scholar, delivered a series of lectures on the topic of the meaning of theology at the Carmelite Monastery of the Assumption of the Mother of God, Ushaw Moor. The author informs us that his lectures were intended primarily for undergraduate students, and more especially for those who wanted to acquire some basic understanding of the theological acumen of the Greek Fathers. To that effect, Father Dragas succeeded very well.

He quite correctly presents an overall description of the Greek term "theologia" as ancient Greek poets who were, in reality, the first "theologians" because they spoke about gods in a mythical setting. Thus their theology was a "mythological" theology. However, Plato and Aristotle elevated theology to philosophical theology, and its methodology leads to a conceptional or rational grasping of the divine. Thus, this philosophical theology is superior and qualitatively higher than philosophy by itself. Whereas with the poets "philosophy begins where theology ends," with Plato and Aristotle, "theology begins where philosophy ends." Later, such Neo-Platonists as Plutarch and Proinos offered a more "functional" understanding of philosophical theology by emphasizing the relationship of God and man. There is no doubt, as Father Dragas correctly notes, that Greek theology was cosmological and anthropological in character thus attempting to explain the nature of things, particularly the nature of existence and non-existence and of good and evil. The basic tool of this Greek theology is man's capacity to think and reason.

The first step taken to put the term *theologeîn* or "to theologize" in a biblical setting was made by Philo, who attempted to translate Old Testament theology into Greek idiomatic language. This biblical, prophetic theology conveys God's word about man and the world, whereas ancient Greek philosophical theology conveys man's

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The Prayer of the Heart in Hesychasm and Sufism

SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR

The goblet revealing the universe is the heart of the perfect man;

The mirror that reveals the Truth is in reality this heart.

The heart is the depository of the treasures of the Divine Mysteries;

Whatever you seek in the two worlds, ask the heart and you shall attain it.

Shams al-Dīn Lāhījī, *Sharḥ-i gulshan-i rāz*

IT IS A STRANGE FACT of modern scholarship in the field of religion that despite such great interest in dialogue between Christianity and Islam today and the appearance of so much literature on the subject during the past few decades, relatively little attention has been paid to the inner dimensions of these religions as means of access to each other.¹ Even less has been written about the remarkable similarities between the Hesychast tradition and Sufism, each of which lies at the heart of the religion upon whose soil it has flowered.² Perhaps, however, this dearth of material on such a crucial subject should not be the cause of surprise. It should be seen as the natural consequence of that type of ecumenism which is willing to sacrifice heaven for an

¹A notable exception is F. Schuon, *Christianity/Islam—Essays on Esoteric Ecumenism* (Bloomington, 1985).

²On comparison between these traditions as concerns the prayer of the heart, see F. Schuon, the *Transcendent Unity of Religions*, trans. P. Townsend (Wheaton, IL, 1984).

illusory earthly peace and which glides over the surface of creeds and doctrines in search of common factors rather than delving into the depth or inner core of religious beliefs, symbols, language and actions where alone commonly shared principles and truths can be found.

Hesychasm is the science of prayer or more specifically the prayer of the heart cultivated within the Orthodox Church. The practices of Hesychasm go back to Christ and this tradition possesses an uninterrupted oral teaching which became gradually formulated and formalized from the eleventh to the fourteenth century by such masters as Symeon the New Theologian, Nikephoros the Monk, and Gregory the Sinaite who established Hesychasm on Mount Athos.³ As for Sufism, it too is based on an oral tradition going back to the Prophet of Islam, a tradition whose tenets began to become more explicitly formulated some two or three centuries after the birth of Islam by such early masters as Bāyazīd al-Baṣṭāmī and Junayd and which had, by the fifth Islamic century, crystallized into the Ṣūfī orders.⁴ The remarkable resemblance between Sufism and Hesychasm, especially as far as the prayer of the heart is concerned, is due not to historical borrowings but to the nature of Christian and Islamic spirituality on the one hand and the constitution of the human microcosm on the other. The prayer which revives the heart does so not as a result of historical influences but because of the grace that emanates from a revelation. Likewise, the heart is quickened and brought to life by this grace because it is the locus of the divine Presence and the center of the microcosm which relates it to higher levels of reality.

There is a striking resemblance between Hesychast and Ṣūfī teachings concerning the nature and meaning of the prayer of the heart itself. In his *Ladder of Divine Ascent* John Klimakos asserts, "Let the remembrance of Jesus be present with you every breath,"

³On Hesychasm, see the classical work of V. Lossky, *Théologie mystique de l'église d'Orient*, Paris, 1965. The most important work of this tradition and one of the most precious books of Christian spirituality is the *Philokalia*, trans. E. Kadloubovsky, G. E. H. Palmer, and K. Ware, 3 vols. (London, 1951-84), which has finally been made available to the English-speaking audience. Other classical works of the Hesychast tradition include *The Way of a Pilgrim* and *The Pilgrim Continues His Way*, trans. R. M. French (Minneapolis, 1952).

⁴On the Ṣūfī tradition, see A. M. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill, 1983); M. Lings, *What is Sufism?* (Los Angeles, 1975); and S. H. Nasr, *Sufi Essays* (Albany, 1985).

while Saint Diadochos of Photike writes, "The experience of true grace come to us when the body is awake or else on the point of falling asleep, while in fervent remembrance of God we are welded to his love."⁵ As for the continuity of prayer, he writes, "He who wishes to cleanse his heart should keep it continually aflame through practicing the remembrance of the Lord Jesus, making this his only study and ceaseless task. Those who desire to free themselves from their corruption ought to pray not merely from time to time but at all times; they should give themselves always to prayer, keeping watch over their intellect even when outside places of prayer. When someone is trying to purify gold, and allows the fire of the furnace to die down even for a moment, the material which he is purifying will harden again. So, too, a man who merely practices the remembrance of God from time to time, loses through lack of continuity what he hopes to gain through his prayer. It is a mark of one who truly loves holiness that he continually burns up what is worldly in his heart through practicing the remembrance of God, so that little by little evil is consumed in the fire of this remembrance and his soul completely recovers its natural brilliance with still greater glory."⁶

In Sufism the remembrance of the name of God (*dhikr Allāh*) which is also the invocation of his Name, since *dhikr* means at once invocation, calling upon and remembrance, is the central method of spiritual realization based on the Qur'ān and the *Ḥadīth*.⁷ The Qur'ān states, "Remember (invoke) thy Lord over and over; exalt him at daybreak and in the dark of the night" (3.40). Also, "O ye who believe, remember (invoke) God again and again" (33.41); and "Remember (invoke) thy Lord's Name and devote thyself to him wholeheartedly" (73.8). As for the relation of invocation to the heart, the Qur'ān states, "The hearts of those who believe are set at rest in the remembrance (invocation) of God; verily in the remembrance of Allah do hearts find rest" (13.28).

⁵The quotations from the masters of the Hesychast tradition are taken from the *Philokalia*.

⁶*Ibid.* 3, pp. 293-94.

⁷On the doctrine and practice of *dhikr* in Sufism, see L. Gardet, "Le mention du nom divin, *dhikr*, dans la mystique musulmane," *Revue Thomiste* 3, no. 3 (1952) 542-676 and 53, no. 1 (1953) 197-216; and J. L. Michon, "Spiritual Practices" in the *World Spirituality—An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest*, vol. 19 (in press); J. Nurbakhsh, *In the Paradise of the Sufis* (New York, 1979), pp. 31-48; and Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, *Traité sur le nom Allāh*, trans. M. Gloton (Paris, 1981).

As for the sayings of the Prophet, there are numerous references to the significance of *dhikr* in its relation to the heart, as for example, "There is a means of polishing all things whereby rust may be removed; that which polishes the heart is the invocation of Allah, and there is no act that removes the punishment of Allah further from you than this invocation. The Companion said: 'Is not the battle against unbelievers equal to it?' The Prophet replied: 'No, not even if you fight on until your sword is shattered.'"⁸

Šūfī writings are also replete with such references usually in the form of allusion and in a manner that is less direct than what one finds in the *Philokalia* although there are some Šūfī texts such as the *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ* of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī⁹ which deal directly with the subject of invocation and the prayer of the heart. The Hesychast tradition and Sufism share the belief that one should remember God constantly and with every breath,¹⁰ that this remembrance is none other than the invocation of a divine Name revealed as a sacrament, that this prayer is related to the heart understood spiritually and that the practice of the incantory method must be based upon the guidance of a teacher and master and is accompanied by appropriate instruction concerning meditation, the practice of virtue and other elements of the spiritual life. Although in the case of Hesychasm the name of Jesus is employed while in Sufism one of the names of Allah is invoked, the teaching of the two traditions concerning the saving power of the divine Name and methods for invoking it display a striking resemblance to each other, bearing witness both to the universality of the method of invocation and profound morphological resemblances between certain aspects of Christian and Islamic spirituality.

⁸On references in both Islamic and Christian sources concerning the way of invocation, see Schuon, *The Transcendent Unity of Religions*, pp. 159-66. Concerning the spiritual significance of the heart, Schuon writes, "The organ of the spirit, or the principal center of spiritual life, is the heart. But what is more important from the standpoint of spiritual realization is the teaching of Hesychasm on the means of perfecting the natural participation of the human microcosm in the divine Microcosm by transmuting it into supernatural participation and finally union and identity: this means consists of the 'inward prayer' or 'Prayer of Jesus.'" Ibid. p. 144.

⁹Translated for the first time into English by M. Khoury (in press).

¹⁰The Šūfīs consider the goal of the person upon the spiritual path to be not only to interiorize the invocation but also to make it perpetual. Such a person is called *dā'im al-dhikr*, that is in constant invocation.

An example of this remarkable resemblance in the two traditions can be found in the doctrine of the heart itself. In Hesychasm the heart (ἡ καρδιά) is the center of the human being, the seat of both intelligence and will within which converge all the forces of human life. Also grace passes from the heart to all the other parts and elements of the human microcosm. This same doctrine is to be found in Sufism which, following the teachings of the Qur'ān, identifies the heart (*al-qalb* in Arabic, *dil* in Persian) with knowledge as well as the will and love, and which like Hesychasm considers the heart to be the seat of the divine from which the grace of his presence issues to the whole being of man.¹¹ If one can speak of the locus of the intellect (νοῦς, πνεῦμα, *al-'aql*), it is the heart, for it is with the heart that man can know the Spirit and "intellect" the supernal realities. It is when the spirit enters the heart that man becomes spiritualized (πνευματικός, *rūhānī*) and it is with the heart that man is able to "see" reality as it is. That is why the Ṣūfis speak of the "eye of the heart" (*'ayn al-qalb* or *chishm-i dil*) as the instrument with which man can "see" what is invisible to the two eyes located in the head.

In both Hesychasm and Sufism the spiritual path begins under the guidance of a master and with a turning away from the world in an act of repentance (ἐπιστροφή, *tawbah*). To follow the path both contemplation and action are necessary, contemplation (θεωρία, *al-nazar*) providing the vision and action (πρᾶξις, *al-'amal*) making actualization or realization of the vision possible. The balance between the two and the necessity of both in the spiritual life are emphasized over and over again by the masters of both Hesychasm and Sufism.¹² The intermediary stages of the path are not, however, necessarily the same and even within Sufism, the stages of the path have been enumerated in different ways by various masters.¹³ As for the end, the stillness of Hesychasm can be compared to the annihilation (*al-fanā'*) of Sufism and deification (θεώσις) to union (*wiṣāl*, *tawḥīd*). There is, however, a major difference at this stage and that concerns the question of the possibility of the attainment of the state of union

¹¹On the relation between the heart and knowledge in general, see S. H. Nasr, *Knowledge and the Sacred* (New York, 1981), pp. 151ff.

¹²On this issue in the context of various traditions including Christianity and Islam, see Y. Ibish and P. Wilson (eds.), *Traditional Modes of Contemplation and Action* (Tehran-London, 1977).

¹³See S. H. Nasr, *Sufi Essays*, pp. 68-83.

in this life. Whereas in Hesychasm deification can be expected fully in the next life and can only be approached in this life through synergy or cooperation between God and man, in Sufism union is possible in this life. There are those *Ṣūfīs* who, while in this world, have already passed beyond the gate of death or annihilation and who have experienced already the supreme state of union or unity while still living in this body.

Despite this difference, however, both Hesychasm and Sufism emphasize the significance of the spiritualization of the body. In contrast to certain branches of Christianity, Hesychasm, like Islam in general and Sufism in particular, sees the body as the temple of the spirit and its techniques like those of Sufism accord a positive role to the body which is an extension of the heart. The breathing techniques connected with invocation in both traditions is very much related to the role of the breast and the body in general as are certain forms of meditation used in both Hesychasm and Sufism. In both traditions it is taught that holiness is connected with "keeping oneself" in the body.¹⁴ The incantatory method can in fact be summarized as putting oneself in the Name and putting the Name in the heart. If only one could keep the mind in the body and prevent it from wandering away while concentrating upon the Name located in the heart one would become a saint. Sanctity in both traditions comes from the coincidence of the heart and the Name with the body playing the role of the sacred temple wherein this miraculous conjunction takes place.

In contrast to certain forms of passive mysticism the spiritual path of Sufism as well as Hesychasm is based on man's active participation in the quest of God. This active aspect of the path is depicted in both traditions as spiritual combat. In Sufism the constant battle against the passions is called *al-jihād al-akbar*, the greater "holy war,"¹⁵ which the Prophet of Islam considered to be much more worthy than any external battle no matter how just its cause. In Hesychasm the aspirant is taught to battle constantly against the evil

¹⁴See K. Almquist, "Temple of the Heart, Temple of the Body," *Tomorrow*, 12, no. 3 (Summer, 1964) 228-33.

¹⁵Actually *jihād*, usually translated as holy war in English, means exertion but it certainly also includes the meaning of waging battle against all that destroys the equilibrium which Islam seeks to establish in human life. See S. H. Nasr, "The Spiritual Significance of *jihād*," *Parabola*, 7, no. 4 (Fall, 1982) 14-19.

tendencies within himself and one of the classics of Orthodox spirituality is called *The Unseen Warfare*.¹⁶ In contrast to much of modern religious thought which has a disdain for the positive significance and symbolism of combat understood in its traditional sense,¹⁷ both Sufism and Hesychasm are fully aware that the peace which surpasseth all understanding cannot be attained save through long and strenuous warfare against those forces within us that prevent us from entering the kingdom of God which is none other than the heart itself.

Finally, in comparing Hesychasm and Sufism one is struck by the significance of light in conjunction with the practice of the prayer of the heart in both traditions. The Hesychast masters assert that God is light (φῶς) and the experience of his reality is light. Symeon the New Theologian even calls spiritual experience the "incessant experience of divine light." Divine light is uncreated and identified with God's energies which he communicates to those who through spiritual practice enter into union with him. As Saint Gregory of Palamas writes in his *Homilies on the Presentation of the Holy Virgin to the Temple*, "He who participates in divine energy becomes himself in some way light. He is united with light and with this light he sees with full consciousness all that remains from those who do not possess this grace . . . The pure of heart see God . . . who being light dwells in them and reveals to those who love him, their Beloved." The Hesychast tradition speaks of grades of light from the uncreated light of the Divinity to the light of the intelligible world and finally sensible light. The practice of the prayer of the heart leads man from this sensible light which surrounds all beings here on earth to the light of the angelic realm and finally the Divine Light itself.

In Islam also God is called in the Qur'ān itself the "Light of the Heavens and the earth" (24.35). On the basis of this famous verse,

¹⁶See *Unseen Warfare: the 'Spiritual Combat' and 'Path to Paradise' of Lorenzo Scupoli*, trans. E. Kadlouborsky and G. E. H. Palmer (London, 1978).

¹⁷This is due both to the unprecedented horror and devastation brought about by modern warfare, thanks to modern technology, and a certain type of pacifism which identifies the whole of Christian spirituality with the passive acceptance of the world about us in the name of peace.

It needs to be pointed out, however, that liberation theology as currently understood and practiced has nothing to do with the spiritual warfare of which Sufism and Hesychasm speak and represents from the point of these traditions a further surrender to the world and worldliness in the name of justice which is usually envisaged in solely earthly terms.

numerous schools of Islamic philosophy and mysticism have developed in which the symbolism of light, (*al-nūr*), plays a central role, the best known of these schools being that of Illumination (*al-ishrāq*) founded by Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī.¹⁸ The divisions of light by Suhrawardī and other masters of this school bear a close resemblance to those found in the Hesychast tradition without there being necessarily a historical borrowing although Suhrawardī's philosophy did have some followers such as Gemistos Plethon in Byzantium. Many Ṣūfī orders also based their teachings on the symbolism of light, especially the schools of Central Asia, such as the Kubrawiyyah order.¹⁹ There is certainly a sense of spiritual affinity between the golden icons of the Byzantine church and certain Persian miniatures where gold, the supreme symbol of the sun and also the Sun, is used profusely. The light that shines in the heart of the practitioner of Hesychasm on the one hand and Sufism on the other is certainly not based on historical borrowing but comes from God and is the fruit of experiences and types of spiritual practice which display remarkable resemblance to each other.

Needless to say, there are also important differences between the prayer of the heart as practiced in Hesychasm and Sufism. One makes use of the name of the message, that is Jesus, and the other the source of the message, that is Allah. One emphasizes love and the other knowledge without either denying the other element. One derives its efficacy from the grace issuing from Christ and the other from the "Muḥammadan grace" (*al-barakat al-muḥammadiyyah*). One is largely practiced within the context of monasticism and the other within society at large.

Yet, the similarity and consonance of the two paths remain as an undeniable reality and constitute a most remarkable aspect of the bonds which relate Christianity and Islam and which can bring about better understanding between them. In this age of facile ecumenism, when so much is said on the surface and so little effort is devoted to the depth where the heart resides, the Hesychast tradition within Orthodoxy offers a most precious channel through which what is most inward and central to the Islamic tradition can be better understood.

¹⁸See H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1971); and S. H. Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages* (Delmar, NY, 1975), chapter 2.

¹⁹See H. Corbin, *The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism*, trans. N. Pearson (Boulder, 1978).

And this tradition is also a most valuable means of access to what constitutes the heart of the Christian tradition for Muslims who wish to gain a deeper understanding of Christian spirituality.

More than a quarter of a century ago in a conference organized by a group of Catholics in Morocco to create better understanding between Christianity and Islam, the notable French Islamicist Louis Massignon said, "It is too late for conferences; the only thing that matters now is the prayer of the heart." If it were too late then, it is certainly much too late now to bring about understanding between Christianity and Islam only through outward means. More than ever before what matters is the prayer of the heart which has been miraculously preserved to this day in the Orthodox tradition while it continues as the central practice of *Ṣūfīs* throughout the Islamic world. To understand the significance of this prayer in Hesychasm and Sufism is to grasp the profound inner resemblances between Christian and Islamic spirituality. To practice the prayer of the heart is to enter that sacred sanctuary where all diversity returns to unity and where every divine message is seen as a reflection of the face of the Beloved who is One although speaking many tongues.

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chapters are also omitted: chapters 15, 18, 19, and 25-36. The commentary also contains two significant excurses, one on typology and one on feasts and ritual.

Kenneth M. Craig, Jr.
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The Psalms: Prayers for the Ups, Downs and In-Betweens of Life.
By John Craghan. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1985.
Pp. 200. \$7.95, paper.

In his new book John Craghan suggests that the Psalms of ancient Israel correspond to the various cycles of our contemporary faith. He arranges select Psalms according to their literary types (e.g. hymns, laments, wisdom, royal Psalms, etc.) and draws heavily from the insight of Walter Brueggemann and L. Alonso Schokel. Walter Brueggemann has demonstrated that the Psalms can be categorized as Psalms of "orientation," "disorientation," or "new orientation." Schokel has focuses on imagery, symbols, structure, and movement. Craghan admits in the introduction that it will be "all too apparent how much I am indebted to the work of these two scholars" (p. 9), and the reader looks hard to discover in what way Craghan's work has gone beyond what has already been written.

In focusing on Brueggemann and Schokel's work, Craghan is able to demonstrate the commonality between contemporary living and Israel's experiences of joy and suffering. The author's ability to show that the Psalms are more than ancient—once for all expressions of prayer is the book's crowning achievement. The commentary on select Psalms demonstrates how the prayers of ancient Israel can become our own. The emphasis at almost every turn in the book is on what these Psalms mean to us at prayer.

The author has followed the Revised Standard Version in offering a biblical text. In keeping with this translation, he employs masculine pronouns. However, the author is sensitive to inclusive concepts: He alludes to the way in which we fall asleep in the arms of "Mother Yahweh" (p. 60) in commenting on Psalm 121.

After an introductory chapter, the book is divided into six sections: a) Psalms of descriptive praise; b) Psalms of trust; c) Wisdom Psalms; d) Royal Psalms; e) Laments; and f) Psalms of declarative

praise. At the end of each of these chapters one finds a concise and helpful, four or five-part summary of the Psalms which have been discussed. Between five and ten Psalms are discussed in each of the chapters.

The author has succeeded in showing that the Psalms of the Old Testament are related to the Psalms of the New Testament. On eight different occasions, the author relates his discussion to specific passages from the New Testament. These eight New Testament passages are quoted and intended as aids in praying these New Testament Psalms. The two indices at the end of the book refer the reader to biblical passages and authors cited.

Craghan's discussion is carefully made. His footnotes at the bottom of almost every page refer the reader interested in more technical discussions to appropriate sources. The book shows that the ancient prayers can become our prayers today. Scholars, clergy, and lay persons will benefit from this book.

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GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

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A Guide to the Music of the Eastern Orthodox Church. By N. Lungu, G. Costea, and I. Croitoru. Trans. and ed. by Nicholas K. Apostola. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984. \$15.00, paper.

Eastern chant (Byzantine music) is the interpretative hymn-music of the troparia of the Greek Orthodox Church. Rendered by a system of eight Modes or Tones (four Authentic and four Plagal), Eastern chant follows a notational system of signs classified as ekphonic semiography.

This very important work, warmly welcomed by this author, is of monumental nature: There is no other book of the same calibre in the English language.

A Guide was born as a consequence of the efforts of a Romanian priest and teacher, Father Nicholas K. Apostola, who had the vision to perceive the need for such a book on the theory of Eastern chant in English. This book is an accurate translation of the original Romanian edition. It is worthy of note that the original book was supported

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The Role of the Holy Spirit from a United Methodist Perspective

ROBERTA BONDI

AT VARIOUS TIMES from the early days of the Church until the present the doctrine of the Holy Spirit has been a stumbling block to Christian unity. Disagreement over the doctrine still trips us up or at least causes us to stub our toes in two areas: first, at the formal point of division between the Eastern and Western churches, with respect to the *filioque*, and second, among those Christian groups who emphasize the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, such as tongues, healing, prophecy, and so forth, and those who emphasize the presence of the Holy Spirit in all of Christian life from the time of baptism. Among those who emphasize the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit are the Pentecostal denominations which began at the start of the century, on the one hand, and the various neo-pentecostal or charismatic groups that may cut across denominational lines, in Orthodox churches, the Roman Catholic churches, and various Protestant churches, on the other. Though the *filioque* is not a live issue in United Methodism, the debate over special and ordinary gifts of the Spirit is. Surprisingly bitter feelings divide many congregations and surely are undermining Christian unity within the denomination, much less outside of it.

In this paper I will try to say what I am able to with respect to what might be said to be the United Methodist perspective on the Holy Spirit. This is not an easy enterprise, however. United Methodists recognize four sources of religious authority: Scripture, tradition, reason, and experience. Insofar as we have explicitly spelled out

doctrinal standards, they consist of John Wesley's *Forty-four Standard Sermons* and his *Notes on the New Testament*, and what is contained in the modern *United Methodist Discipline*. Nevertheless, we recognize ourselves to be a church which allows for a great deal of theological diversity, and we value that diversity, for

the ethical fruits of faith concern us more than systems of doctrine.
. . . The freedom we foster in this regard has been a function of our larger sense of belonging to the whole People of God.¹

This means that constitutionally as a United Methodist, delineating a doctrine of the Holy Spirit is difficult. Nevertheless, there is so much pain in so many United Methodist congregations on this question that, even apart from the ecumenical needs for a statement, we need together to look again at the whole question of our own tradition concerning the role of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church. For this Wesley in a particular way, but also the rest of Christian tradition and Scripture are resources, along with our own experience and our rational thought processes. In all of this Wesley has a special place: not the most important place, of course, for that place is reserved for Scripture. But Wesley has a special place as the one who originally interpreted Scripture and tradition to give modern United Methodists the broad shape of the way we experience and understand the Spirit, and in many respects, it is out of a Wesleyan theology that we enter into ecumenical dialogue.

Much water has flowed under the bridge since Wesley's eighteenth century, however, and only the exceptionally educated United Methodist would know what Wesley taught. Nevertheless, I would contend that a good deal of what makes modern-day United Methodists who they are is a memory of Wesley's doctrine of the Spirit that is in our genes, and it is out of this modern identity that we can begin finding healing in the Spirit for our own wounds as well as being able to enter into ecumenical dialogue. I intend, therefore, to try briefly to do three things in this paper: (1) to look at Wesley's own doctrine of the Spirit, which would constitute in some sense the "official" United Methodist position, (2) to try to see how this position is manifested at the congregational level today, and (3) to suggest ways in which we might enter the larger conversation on the Spirit with the rest of the Church.

¹*Discipline* (New York, 1984), par. 69, p. 74.

JOHN WESLEY

John Wesley was born in 1703 in Epworth, England, the son of a High-church Anglican clergyman and an exceptionally well educated woman from a Nonconformist background. He was educated at the Charterhouse in London, and then at Christ Church, Oxford. At Oxford, he read voraciously in the Christian spiritual classics. In 1726 he became a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. In 1729 he joined in Oxford a group his brother had founded for "Bible study, mutual discipline in devotion, and frequent Communion. This group had developed a keen interest in the ancient liturgies and the monastic piety of the fourth century 'desert fathers.'"² Though the Church in its first centuries was only one source among many for Wesley's theology, Wesley's deep understanding of the heart and soul of this early Christianity, and especially of early monasticism, underlies the whole of his thought. His own doctrine of the Holy Spirit must surely owe a substantial debt to the *Makarian Homilies*, which he abridged for the first volume of his Christian Library. His wide and serious reading and incorporating of much from the Eastern patristic writers, along with his study of Western spiritual classics, Anglican, Roman Catholic and Reformation writers, related United Methodism theologically at its roots in some way to large segments of the modern church.

The movement that came to be the Methodist Revival really got its start in 1739 when he reluctantly preached in Bristol for his friend George Whitefield. Wesley had by this time had a disastrous missionary trip to America and his reluctance to preach outdoors at Bristol to uneducated masses of people must surely be related to that disaster. Much to his own surprise, once he actually did preach to them, he was able to communicate; he had read Jonathan Edward's account of his New England Revival and its spectacular conversions, and he found the same things happening when he preached in Bristol. People responded with great manifestations of deep emotion, and those who followed Wesley during Wesley's own time were frequently dismissed as "enthusiasts," that is, fanatics.

But Wesley had no intention of being schismatic. While the Church of England did not care for him, he placed a high value on Christian unity, and he regarded what he and his followers were about as a renewal movement within the Church of England. It was not until

²Albert C. Outler, ed., *John Wesley* (New York, 1964), p. 8.

two years after Wesley's death that Methodism broke off from the Church of England.

THE PLACE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN WESLEY'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

For John Wesley there is no human life apart from the Holy Spirit. While natural humanity is as full of sin according to Wesley's theology as it is according to Luther's, Wesley did not believe that human beings are ever to be found in that natural state. Instead, he believed that God's prevenient grace surrounds each person from their birth, so that it is only by means of the Spirit that anyone is empowered to live at all:

I believe firmly, and that in the most literal sense, that "without God we can do nothing . . ."; that we cannot think, or speak, or move a hand . . . without the concurrence of the divine energy; and that all our natural faculties are God's gift, nor can the meanest be exerted without the assistance of His Spirit.³

This means that the grace of the Spirit from birth is given to each human being, activating the conscience, allowing each of us to distinguish between right and wrong and pointing us toward God to take the first steps toward our salvation, enabling repentance and allowing us to ask God for help. (Wesley is very close to the *Makarian Homilies* at this point.) This gift of the Spirit is the result of the work of Christ in the Atonement.

By means of the grace we receive through the Spirit we are able to repent of our sins, and we are given the gift of faith which allows us "to see the things of God," including our own pardon through the death of Christ, which is our justification. This justification is the beginning of our new life of salvation. It comes to us from God. It is done for us through the gift of the Holy Spirit. Only by means of the Spirit can we have the faith to experience "a sure trust and confidence that God's love and mercy in Christ's sacrifice is for me."⁴ It is the Holy Spirit witnessing to our spirit that makes a theoretical knowledge of God's forgiving love into a personal inner reality.

³Quoted by L. Starkey, p. 40, *The Work of the Holy Spirit: A Study in Wesleyan Theology* from a letter of Wesley.

⁴Starkey, p. 49.

But the Holy Spirit does more. Justification for Wesley is only the beginning of the Christian life. One who is justified is not free of sin. As Wesley says, the newly justified may be tempted to think that sin in them is dead, whereas "it is only stunned." Even though justified, no one can, without the power of the Holy Spirit, resist sin and do good. Justification itself is lost without the continual presence of the Spirit.

It is sanctification, or Christian perfection, that is the goal of the Christian life. This Christian perfection is not a static goal, the culmination of a process of "doing all the right things" and "not doing all the wrong things." It is for Wesley what it was for those who lived out the early monastic tradition: perfect love of God and neighbor. He, like they, believes that the command to love God with all our hearts and our neighbors as ourselves is both a command and a promise that can be fulfilled in this life. That doesn't mean it happens often, nor does mean that, once reached, the Christian cannot fail.

Journeying toward Christian perfection is not something we do ourselves of our own effort any more than being justified is. Just as justification can occur only through the Spirit's gift of faith, so the whole process of sanctification can only come about as the Holy Spirit gives us the power to produce the ordinary "fruits of the Spirit," including love, joy, and peace.

By human effort alone we cannot fight the evil in ourselves or do any good. On the other hand, the Holy Spirit does not automatically bring us through the process of sanctification without any human effort. Only by a synergistic working of the Holy Spirit with our own spirit are we empowered to work with God in the Christian life to move toward perfect love. At this point of synergism Wesley again demonstrates his similarity to the ancient monastic tradition.

All of this is intensely personal, as the Holy Spirit and the human being continually interact. It is an interaction of which we can be consciously aware in two ways, first by the direct witness of the Spirit and second, by the indirect witness of a life that begins to show forth the fruits of the Spirit. Wesley speaks of the direct witness as

an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God witnesses to my spirit that I am a child of God; that Christ Jesus hath loved me, and given himself for me; and that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God.⁵

⁵Sermon 10, "The Witness of the Spirit, Discourse 1," 1.7, p. 115.

In his earlier years Wesley believed that every Christian would be given this "assurance of faith"; pastoral experience taught him, however, that it does not come to every person in the same way. For some, the assurance of faith is mixed with doubt; for others, it is not. Nevertheless, for everyone salvation is only real where God is actually experienced, and this experience is not a one time thing that we reflect back on, but rather, a continuous interaction of a person with God through the Holy Spirit.

As for the indirect witness of the Spirit, presence of the Spirit within us surely guarantees that we will bring forth fruits of the Spirit. Wesley insists repeatedly that unless there is an actual change in a person's life, unless a person is moving toward holiness, the person cannot be filled with the Spirit. In his own time, people were as suspicious of "enthusiasts" as they are of religious fanatics in our own time, and Wesley was not inclined to be soft on them. He was perfectly aware of religious experiences that were in fact only the production of self-delusion. The presence of the Spirit in our heart is more than a feeling.

But the Spirit does not bring about Christian behavior without our own cooperation. The Spirit does not overwhelm us, but rather,

the Spirit may lead [a person] as much by his head or understanding as by his heart or affections, as much by light as by heat. . . . By these metaphors Wesley means that the Spirit works in and through, and not against the whole of [a person's] personality.⁶

Any movement toward God, in fact, is with the work of the Spirit, and yet never does the Spirit overrule human will, or work without human cooperation.

Wesley did not separate the work of the Spirit from the life of the Church. The true Church itself Wesley was convinced was not made up of those whose doctrine was pure, or who read Scripture properly, or who worshipped properly or had a genuine apostolic succession in its clergy, or the right polity. Instead, it includes

all the persons in the universe whom God hath so called out of the world as to entitle them to the . . . character of [Christians];

⁶Starkey, p. 73,

as to be “one body,” united by “one Spirit”; having one faith, one hope, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in them all.⁷

This is a broad and ecumenical vision of the Church, whose primary characteristic is its unity in the Holy Spirit. By seeing the Church in this way, Wesley does not mean to suggest that polity, doctrine, sacraments, ways of reading Scripture, and so forth, are of no concern to the Christian: probably no one in the history of the Church has ever written as many words arguing over these very issues than he.⁸ Nevertheless, he never confused the need for and the presence of the Spirit with any of these components of church life.

Though God’s grace may be conveyed to us however God chooses, by means of the Spirit, we receive God’s grace through the ordinary means he has given us, in our private worship, but also in our life within the Church:

The chief of these means are prayer, whether in secret or with the great congregation; searching the scriptures . . . ; and receiving the Lord’s Supper, eating bread and drinking wine in remembrance of Him. . . . We allow, likewise, that all outward means whatever, if separate from the Spirit of God, cannot profit at all . . . ⁹

Wesley assures us that if we make faithful use of these means, God will surely finally fulfill the promise he has made to us and grant us the gift of his grace.

Thus, according to the theology of John Wesley, there can be no life, much less Christian life, without the Holy Spirit. Every stage of the Christian life depends upon the work of the Spirit. Furthermore, the Church itself is constituted by those who have the Spirit, and it exists wherever people have the Holy Spirit, witnessing, pardoning, empowering, sustaining, bringing to completion God’s work in us. The presence of the Holy Spirit is not limited to those who believe the right things, have the right religious experiences, worship in the right way, or even read Scripture properly. Wesley’s understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit is broad and inclusive,

⁷Ibid.

⁸See, for example, sermon 14, “Catholic Spirit,” where he makes it quite clear how important these things are.

⁹Sermon 12, “The Means of Grace,” 2.1,2, pp. 136-37.

tolerant of the different ways God works in our midst, and convinced that the proof of the presence of the Holy Spirit must always include the fruits of the Spirit displayed in Christian life and love.

**MODERN UNITED METHODIST CONGREGATIONS IN
THE SOUTHEAST UNITED STATES AND
THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE HOLY SPIRIT**

The United Methodist Church in the Southeastern United States, where I come from, suffers from what afflicts it in other parts of the country. It is too successful: that is, it is one of the establishment churches. For this reason, one will often find almost no difference between the culture outside of the church and the people within. On the whole, we share the friendliness of the South, coupled with a strong sense of privacy over our deep religious feelings and their manifestations. The most conservative among us, who will often be quite close to moderate Southern Baptists, are comfortable using the language the evangelicals use. It is not at all unusual to hear people speak of altar calls, finding the Lord, or being saved. The more liberal among us may hesitate to use this language, and will be more oriented to Christian fellowship and social action. In all its strands, however, United Methodism is optimistic in its outlook, and members will frequently be reluctant to let their church acquaintances know about the seamier side of the problems most people have at one time or another with their families, or jobs, or money, or certain kinds of health problems. Perhaps this reluctance partly stems from the ancient Methodist heritage from Wesley that a person full of the Holy Spirit will be full of peace and joy and love, but partly, too, it comes from the conviction that "nice people" don't talk about these things.

In matters of doctrine, United Methodists generally "believe and let believe." Few of us have much sense of what our theological heritage contains, but we have retained Wesley's sense that true Christianity has more to do with Christian living and the presence of the Holy Spirit than it has with beliefs. In its watered down version, this translates into "it doesn't matter what you believe, as long as you're sincere." At its best, it translates into an insistence on open communion, and a genuine belief that the varieties of ways God deals with human beings is infinite. At its worst, it goes with a tendency to allow any sort of thoughts to be passed off as legitimately Christian in church life without any correction.

United Methodists in the Southeast are partly attracted to

charismatic groups for reasons having to do with the above description of many United Methodist congregations. That is, they usually feel that there is not much conviction in congregational worship. But United Methodists attracted in this direction are also responding out of another deep seated Wesleyan insight: there is no real Christianity where there is no live and personal ongoing relationship with God. Every Methodist of whatever stripe acknowledges the importance of Christian experience, and those attracted to charismatic religion seek to have a vital and ongoing experience of God that might contain more life than that which seems to flow in the politely approved channels of Methodist worship. In this they are living out their own Wesleyan tradition.

United Methodist charismatics often seek this experience by looking for what many charismatics of other denominations associate with the "baptism in the Spirit," such as tongues, interpretation, healing, and so forth, as the major gifts of the Spirit, but not all charismatic United Methodists think of the primary work of the Spirit in this way. Many intelligent and thoughtful United Methodist charismatics are fully aware of the way in which the Holy Spirit enlivens all of the Christian life in its most "ordinary" ways.

Nevertheless, there is a great deal of bitterness among the congregations, and some conferences are felt to discriminate against pastors of a charismatic bent. Each side of the split offends the other. Perhaps both sides tend to exhibit what Wesley himself calls "enthusiasm," or a kind of religious madness.¹⁰ Certainly in a lot of places there is a terrible lack of charity.

Many non-charismatic Christians believe that charismatic Christians regard them as less than Christians if they do not have a "baptism in the Spirit" on top of their "water baptism." Indeed, charismatic United Methodists often seem to have forgotten that they have not been appointed by God to pronounce judgment upon the adequacy of their non-charismatic brothers' and sisters' religious experience, not to mention their way of reading Scripture. Often, their charismatic experience is backed up by a theology that inclines them to ignore the great social issues in their community, in our nation, and in the world. Non-charismatics who are convinced that the Christian is to witness to the gospel through acts of love in a wounded world will be offended by their neighbors' air of superiority, as well

¹⁰See Sermon 32, "The Nature of Enthusiasm."

as the suggestion that the Spirit we all received at baptism is not a motivator and empowerer of their Christian service. Furthermore, because so many charismatic groups have taken themselves out of United Methodist congregations to set themselves up as separate Bible churches, United Methodist congregations very rightly fear that where charismatics come, schism may shortly follow. On the other hand, charismatics are equally offended by being treated as slobbering fanatics by people whose real objection may have more to do with how they believe "nice people" act than anything else.

Yet, I believe, each side needs the other. We need to remember that where there is no ongoing experience of God, there is no Christian life. We also need the structure and the discipline of our community worship, and we certainly all need a new sense of *all* of the ordinary ways we experience our life in the Spirit.

ENTERING THE LARGER ECUMENICAL DIALOGUE

The charismatic renewal is itself an ecumenical movement in that it crosses all sorts of denominational lines that are otherwise hard for non-professional church people to cross, and this is potentially a great blessing for the Church. Being a lay movement, for the most part, it does not depend for its vigor on the various churches' official hierarchies: both its strength and its weakness lie here. The power of the Spirit is surely present in many different places, but many groups will find the gospel as they experience it being distorted where they are not incorporated into and tested within the individual denominations to which they belong. The need for the testing of spirits is as great now as it was in Paul's day. This process, however, will never take place until each side can learn to give up some of its pride, mistrust of and scorn for the other. Where there is no charity, surely God does not dwell.

Furthermore, the whole of the Church needs prayerfully to begin to think harder about who the Holy Spirit is, who we acknowledged in 381 at the Council of Constantinople to be full member of the Trinity. We need to search back in Scripture and within our own Christian tradition for hints as well as for overt statements.

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The Spirit, The Creed, and Christian Unity

LLOYD G. PATTERSON

THIS CONSULTATION HAS BEFORE IT not one but a whole congery of related issues, which ought to be acknowledged at the outset.

As part of the NCCC Apostolic Faith Study, the consultation is to take up "the issues in the creed which divide East and West" on the subject of the Spirit. But it does so in the light of the WCC consultations on the Holy Spirit and the Nicene Creed, and of the quite remarkable agreement on the present state of the subject reflected in the volume of essays from those consultations edited by Lukas Vischer, *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ: Ecumenical Reflections on the Filioque Controversy*. At the same time, the set of questions which writers have been asked to address from the perspective of their various traditions includes, at least by implication, matters of a much broader sort, reflective of the fact that much modern thinking about the functioning of the Spirit beyond the structures of the Church and in social and political life has taken place without reference to the classic theological discussion of the Spirit, while differing assumptions among Western Christians about the nature and status of the ancient credal formulations have led to quite different views of their viability as unifying confessions of Christian faith in the contemporary world altogether.

To describe the agenda of the consultation in this way is not to suggest that these issues—and the combination of them—do not belong together. The "Nicene Creed" of the Council of Constantinople A.D. 381 is an obvious place to look for a basis of Christian unity, and indeed seems to me the only one immediately apparent to anyone

surveying the classic formulations of Christian faith from a fully ecumenical perspective. The doctrine of the Spirit is of renewed importance in ecumenical discussion, and a review of the *filioque* controversy immediately raises questions which are by no means of merely historical interest. But if account is not taken of the broader issues just mentioned, the consultation will have overlooked the concerns of a large part of its constituency. The task is thus a formidable one.

SPIRIT OF GOD, SPIRIT OF CHRIST

We have been asked to comment on the volume of essays edited by Lukas Vischer, and I do so with the agenda of the consultation chiefly in mind.

It is certainly not remarkable that the Western contributors to the volume generally reflect the growing body of informed Western opinion in support of the omission of filioque, the reference to the Spirit as "proceeding from the Father *and the Son*" from the Creed of A.D. 381, or that they recognize that such a step would simply remove a long-standing bone of contention rather than resolving basic theological issues between East and West. It must give us some pause to consider that Westerners can come to this position without investing the text of the Creed as such with the same importance as their Eastern counterparts, and that theological concern with the question is scarcely reflective of popular interest in it. But these are not matters for discussion here.

To return to the volume of essays, however, it certainly is remarkable that both Eastern and Western contributors have been able to come to the basic theological issues which have so long separated us. To have reached even modest agreement on the need to say something about the giving of the Spirit $\delta\iota'$ $\upsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon$ ("through the Son") while avoiding the Western tendency to locate trinitarian thinking within a unitary concept of the Godhead is an achievement in itself. To have come to this point through such a careful study of the history of the controversy, as this is done in the essays of Dietrich Ritschl, Andre de Halleux, and Herwig Aldenhoven in particular, is a fine example of the effectiveness of historical study for understanding theological issues. It will be of interest to discover how the present consultation regards this beginning of an agenda for its own consideration of the theological issues dividing East and West on the subject of the Spirit.

But at least as important a feature of the essays, or many of them, seems to me to be their call to reconsider trinitarian theology today by

reference to its emergence out of the life of the early Christian communities. As Ritschl writes, "One must not forget that . . . the doctrine of the trinity was intended to be a help for Christian believers, not an obstacle or an abstract intellectual superimposition upon the 'simple faith.' . . . [early Christians] did not deduce their theological conclusions from a preconceived trinitarian concept."¹ To put the matter in some such terms, as more than one of the authors of these essays do, is to go beyond the familiar point that even such a seemingly abstract subject as that of the procession of the Spirit has immediate ramifications for the doctrine of the Church. It is to call for an approach to trinitarian issues from a study of the character of the ancient credal formulations as such, and thus to the broader issues of the nature and status of those formulations and of contemporary questions about the functioning of the Spirit to which the present consultation is asked to address itself.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Since it is part of our task to make recommendations to the NCCC Apostolic Faith Study, it seems appropriate to suggest at just this point the desirability of focusing attention on the nature and character of the ancient credal formulations as such. Resurgent interest in baptism, baptismal catechesis, and indeed all aspects of Christian initiation, provides the obvious context for such a study. Its implications would clearly include but extend far beyond the particular aspects of the discussion of the Spirit which initially brought the consultation together.

My own interest in such a study will, in any case, become evident in the remarks which follow.

AN ANGLICAN APPROACH

We have been asked to devote the second part of our remarks to the series of questions, or some of them, set out for discussion, and to do so from the perspective of our several traditions. I suppose that this is an increasingly difficult task for most people just now, since critical historical issues and contemporary theological ideas are not respecters of clearly defined traditions. For Anglicans, such as myself, it has long been common to disclaim the possibility of speaking

¹ "Historical Development and Implications of the Filioque Controversy," *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ*, ed. Lukas Vischer (London and Geneva, 1981), p. 65.

for our tradition, and such a disclaimer is intended in my reference to what follows as "an Anglican approach" to the series of questions before us. Anglicans have never embraced a particular theological system as authoritative, nor regarded the Articles of Religion of the Church of England as comparable to other sixteenth-century confessions of faith. We have taken acceptance of the scriptures, the Catholic creeds, our inheritance of the ancient orders of ministers, and our own liturgical formularies as sufficient indication of commitment to our communion. Perhaps by historical circumstance rather than profound insight, we have come to value this approach in a time when confessional conformity seems to have proved unproductive of Christian unity, and when discussion of theological differences has proved more fruitful for understanding Christian faith than otherwise.

In the present circumstances, of course, the questions before us require a review of the assumptions which have lain close to the heart of this "tradition" regarding the place and character of the creeds, their teaching about the Spirit, and its relation to the discernment of the work of the Spirit in the contemporary world. But I would still be remiss in proceeding without saying that, while I will be referring to Anglican history and writing along the way, I intend to say nothing that is peculiarly Anglican in character.

The Creeds, the Scriptures, and the Spirit

On the assumption that we can take the license to marshal in our own way the subjects set out for discussion, I begin by setting together three subjects which seem to me in extricably related.

Recent study of the confessional and catechetical formulae which underlie the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and of their relation to the practice of baptism, has done much to alter the way in which we look at the creeds in relation to the scriptures, and at their talk about the Spirit—and, indeed, many other things as well. Simply put, the creeds are not intelligible when taken as comprehensive theological statements or digests of the body of Christian teaching as a whole. Their particular language doubtless reflects the main themes which the emerging orthodoxy of the second century stressed in the face of Gnosticism, and in the case of the Creed of A.D. 381 positions hammered out in later phases of the Arian controversy regarding the *ὁμοούσιον* of the Son and the status of the Spirit. But at root the creeds have their origin in, and fundamentally retain the character

of, catechetical explanations of the relationship with God, effected by the work of Christ, made effective through the Spirit, into which Christians are brought in baptism. Even the original statement of the "preaching" and "faith" of the Council of Nicea A.D. 325, while itself less a creed than a conciliar document devised to address the specific issue of the creation of the Son, retains this general character and, in so doing, shows much that is often overlooked about the sense of the council as to how to approach the issues before it.

Questions remain with respect to the relationship between such catechetical explanations and the underlying confession of "Jesus as Lord (or Christ)" also associated with baptism. But it at least seems obvious to me that no sharp distinction can be drawn between the catechetical and confessional materials which we have from the earliest Christian evidence at our disposal. When Paul speaks in Romans 6-8 about the Christian's baptismal relationship with God, in Christ, through the Spirit (or to Father, Son, and Spirit), he conflates references to the confession of Jesus as Lord with tripartite catechetical elaborations of its implications in what seems an entirely natural way. In any case, in the course of the second century the catechetical material was amalgamated with the confession of faith itself in such a way as to provide the basis for baptismal catechesis in the centuries which followed.²

Whatever else is said about them, the Roman or Apostolic and the "Nicene" Creeds which continue in use are of this general character. They do not offer comprehensive Christian teaching on all points of Christian doctrine, any more than they are adequate expression of trinitarian thinking. They are confessional-catechetical formulations about the work of God into which believers are brought through baptism. As such they are at once less and much more than they appeared to be when they were viewed, as they came to be viewed, as digests of doctrine—even trinitarian doctrine—in later times. Such a classic Anglican work as the *Exposition of the Creed* (1659) by John Pearson, bishop of Chester, follows the normal practice of using the text of the Creed as the basis for a rehearsal of orthodox trinitarian teaching, with the entirely understandable result of obscuring the confessional-catechetical character of the text. It has only been quite

²See R. A. Norris, Jr., "Creeds and Catechesis," XV International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford 1983), on current issues in the relation of confessional and catechetical formulae.

recently, through study of the background of the text to which Principal J. N. D. Kelly is doubtless the foremost Anglican contributor, but even more through growing ecumenical interest in the nature of early Christian confessional material and its baptismal setting, that a new approach to the subject has been forthcoming.³

To view the creeds in this way has, of course, an immediate bearing on the way they are seen in relation to the scriptures. The creeds do not stand over against the scriptures, as they have often been taken to stand when they have been regarded either as adequate digests of scriptural teaching devised by ecclesiastical authority or as inadequate to that same purpose—two views still current and based on precisely the same assumption regarding their nature and status. The creeds were formulated out of themes already present in the Christian communities to which we owe the writings which were set on par with the Jewish scriptures in the course of the second and third centuries. To watch these processes take place at the same time, as in the writings of Irenaios⁴ and of Origen⁵ is to see how difficult it is to compare and contrast credal and scriptural teaching in the fashion that seemed possible when the creeds came to be seen as digests of scriptural teaching.

This is not to deny that the creeds—as well as the developed body of Christian Scriptures, especially through the addition of the Pastoral Epistles—stress certain themes out of inherited Christian teaching to the exclusion of others developed by Gnostic teachers. Thus the God to whom Christians are related in Jesus Christ is the God of Israel and author of the whole creation (“Father, παντοκράτωρ, creator of heaven and earth”). Jesus Christ is an identifiable human being whose death and resurrection are central to the plan of redemption (“who . . . was crucified, died, and was buried, . . . rose again and is seated at the right hand of the Father”). The work of the Spirit is seen in the gathering of the Church, in baptism and forgiveness

³ J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (New York, 1972). See also V. H. Neufeld, *Earliest Christian Confessions* (Grand Rapids, 1963), and the representative essays ed. J. H. Westerhoff III, *A Faithful Church: Issues in the History of Catechesis* (Wilton, CN., 1981), and A. Kavanaugh *et al.*, *Made Not Born: New Perspectives on Christian Initiation and the Catechumenate* (Notre Dame, 1976).

⁴ *Against Heresies* 3.1-4.

⁵ Cf. *De principiis* i, praef.

of sins, and in the hope of the resurrection. These themes are brought to the fore rather than those of Jesus as the bearer of a higher wisdom to elect souls destined for salvation beyond the confines of the physical creation. But it is possible to observe this selectivity, and even to debate its lasting significance, without being obliged to see it, as if often done these days, as an imposition of themes alien to the Scriptures by ecclesiastical authority. To do so is a common anachronism which obscures the nature of the creeds no less than the notion that they are digests of scriptural teaching.⁶

To turn specifically, then, to the question of the Spirit in the Creed, it will not now be supposed that the confessional-catechetical formulae reflect, or were intended to reflect, the "biblical witness" in an exhaustive manner. Even the central Christian affirmation of the outpouring of the Spirit through and in connection with the work of Christ as the fulfillment of the prophecy of the Jewish scriptures is assumed rather than stated explicitly. Rather, stress is laid, largely through Pauline allusions, on the operation of the Spirit in the assembling of the *ecclesia* (ἐκκλησία) through baptism, in forgiveness, and in the hope of the resurrection. The implication plainly is that exclusive limitation of the work of the Spirit to particular groups of Christians or insistence that salvation consists in something superadded to what is given through being gathered into the *ecclesia* is inconsistent with Christian teaching. No exclusive limitation of the work of the Spirit to the Christian community, and indeed no particular view of *ecclesia* is at issue here. That Irenaeos and Origen, for instance, could differ widely on such matters while using the same confessional and catechetical language is instructive.

The Creed and Trinitarian Teaching about the Persons of the Godhead

In what has thus far been said, we have only had occasion to notice in passing that the "Nicene Creed" of the Council of A.D. 381 bears signs of its having been given its present form in the light of the orthodox trinitarianism which emerged in the later stages of the Arian controversy. The incorporation of the *ὁμοούσιον* of the Son from the original Nicene document of A.D. 325 reflects the agreement about the use of the term reached by Athanasios and the disciples of Basil of Ankyra in the face of the resurgent Arianism of Aitios

⁶ E.g. H. Koester and J. M. Robinson, *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1971), but also many other works.

and Eunomios and elaborated by the Cappadocians in the years preceding the council of A.D. 381. The language about the Spirit as "Lord, life-giver, proceeding from the Father" is, as we now know, the result of an attempt to head off disagreement with the Macedonians by using scriptural terms suggesting the independent and equal status of the Spirit. Innocuous as these additions to what was probably the confessional-catechetical formulae of the Church of Constantinople may now seem to the casual reader, they are reflections of the great controversy over the possibility of accomodating the Christian confession of Father, Son, and Spirit to the mediatorial cosmology of contemporary (Platonic) philosophy.⁷

It is important to put the matter of the indirect relation of the "Nicene Creed" to fourth-century trinitarian thinking in these terms. The idea still persists that the *Nicenum*, and perhaps creeds more generally, reflect and are even the products of orthodox trinitarianism. But the truth of the matter is almost the other way around. The teaching of the Arians about the relation of the Son to the Father as that of the created to the uncreated had from the outset to be squared with the Christian baptismal confession—as witness the Letter of Arius to Alexander of Alexandria⁸ no less than the more familiar Letter of Eusebios of Caesarea to his congregation and its account of the formulation of the original Nicene document itself. Trinitarian teaching—and the trinitarianism of the Arians, for such indeed it was, no less than that of the orthodox—was, looked at from one point of view at least, an effort to find an interpretation of the baptismal confession consistent with the claims of contemporary thought about the relation of God and the cosmos. It is not the least of the contributions of the study of early Christian liturgy to our study that this fact is now clearer than it has been for some time.

Looked at from another point of view, however, the tripartite confessional-catechetical formulae played a far more significant role in the later Arian controversy than just mentioned. It is clear now that both Athanasios and Basil of Ankyra came to take the tripartite confession as the arbiter of opposed teachings, and as the spur to the effort to find a way of saying that Father, Son, and Spirit were equally and at once divine, since each had an equal role in establishing

⁷ Cf. L. G. Patterson, "Nicaea to Constantinople: The Theological Issues," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27/4 (1982).

⁸ Opitz, *Urkunde* 6.

the relationship into which Christians were introduced by baptism.⁹ To be sure, neither Athanasios nor his contemporaries directly challenged the grounds of the Arian argument for the imperfection of the created Son in contrast to the uncreated Father. It remained for the Cappadocians to support the position of their predecessors with the sweeping argument that the nature of the Godhead is not knowable in the sense that the intelligible no less than the perceptible elements of the cosmos are knowable, and hence that talk about the Godhead was not susceptible of the same logical analysis as talk about them. But the function of the tripartite confession itself as a factor in the resolution of the controversy is not to be discounted. The rather slight accommodations of the Creed of A.D. 381 to what had become an acceptable trinitarian doctrine may be insignificant by comparison.

It is in the light of all this that we ought to look at the classic formulation of the Godhead as three "persons" (ὑποστάσεις), modes of being or separate realities, possessing the same "substance" (οὐσία), or perhaps more precisely possessing the οὐσία of the Father.¹⁰ This formulation does not, of course, appear in the Creed of A.D. 381, except insofar as the ὁμοούσιον of the Son which appears there must be assumed to imply the formulation as it had become familiar to the participants of the council. In any case, the use of ὑπόστασις by the Arians no less than the orthodox¹¹ had long been a way of expressing the separate realities of the persons of the Godhead, however their relationship was otherwise understood.

As to what is to be made of this classic formulation today, Anglican writers differ from one another along the lines which divide their colleagues in other traditions. The influence of nineteenth-century German historians of doctrine, with their assumption that the terms of the formulation are merely reflective of contemporary philosophical thinking, suggests to some that the formulation is no longer relevant to present talk about the divine. Others, including myself, will insist that the formulation is scarcely philosophical in what it tries to say, and at the very least seeks to clarify points of the Christian confession of faith which must be preserved whatever language is used. The difficulty of saying that we encounter the divine in Father, Son, and

⁹ Athanasios, *Serap.* 1.14, cf. 30; Basil of Ankyra in Epiphanius, *Haer.* 73.3.

¹⁰ G. C. Stead, *Divine Substance* (Oxford, 1977).

¹¹ Cf. Opitz, *Urkunde* 6.

Spirit, but are not polytheists, remains a basic one. Efforts such as those of Cyril Richardson and Geoffrey Lampe, among Anglican writers, to expound a binitarian God-Son or a unitive God-Spirit view of what underlies the Christian confession rely for their cogency on the assumption that the tripartite formulae lack the primitive roots which we have insisted upon, and seem to me to concede too much to recent notions about those formulae.¹²

I should note at this point that it is difficult for me to deal with the question put to us regarding "how 'our' tradition interprets the trinity as persons as well as powers," though some attention should be paid to it in this section. The English "person" badly translates both the Greek *ὑπόστασις* and the Latin *persona*, and its use may suggest a trinity of personalities foreign to the sort of thinking which lies behind classic trinitarian formulations. But surely the sense of Father, Son, and Spirit are denoting separate realities (and in this sense as "persons") is basic to trinitarian thinking, so that the question of whether we are dealing with a "trinity of persons *as well as* powers" is a rather peculiar one. Conversely, it is hard to see what could be meant by a trinity of powers in any strict sense. The reasons for the general rejection of monarchianism (even in its sophisticated Sabellian form) are still cogent, at least insofar as it sought to be an interpretation of the tripartite confession of faith. The Cappadocian insistence that we know the persons of the Godhead in their operations *ἐνέργειαι* rather than directly has nothing to do with the question of the separate existence of the *ὑποστάσεις*. The classic formulation of the trinity of persons is certainly in need of explanation, and its language may even be regarded as dated. But it is an effort to be faithful to the confession of the relationship with God, through Christ, in the Spirit into which Christians are brought in Baptism. Alternative language which does not do as well ought presumably not to be regarded as trinitarian language at all. It strikes me that this is the sort of consideration which Anglicans are not alone in pondering in our time. This is a matter which is well worth discussion, since it has to do with the fundamental character of trinitarian thinking.

¹²C. C. Richardson, *The Doctrine of the Trinity* (New York and Nashville, 1958); G. W. H. Lampe, *God as Spirit* (Oxford, 1981).

Christ, the Spirit, and the Church

We now bring together under one heading another selection from among the questions we have been asked to address, in this case having to do with the relation of Christ and the Spirit and with the work of the Spirit in the Church.

The WCC consultations, as reflected in the volume of essays edited by Vischer, have carried the discussion of the relation of Christ and the Spirit far beyond the confines of the controversy over the addition of the *filioque* to the Creed of A.D. 381, and even beyond the intensely reactive and often murky dispute over the Western commitment to the "double procession" of the Spirit altogether. As mentioned before, it is salutary for Westerners to have reached the point of being critical of their tendency to impose a unitary notion of the Godhead on their trinitarian thinking, while still insisting that account be taken of the giving of the Spirit "through the Son." For their part, Anglicans have long questioned the desirability of the addition of the *filioque*, at the same time that they have generally embraced Western teaching on the "double procession," albeit without having contributed much to the discussion of the subject.¹³ It is time for them no less than for others to move beyond their inherited commitments.

At the moment, however, it is our intention to do no more than to comment on the bearing of the study of the classic confessional-catechetical formulae on this and several related subjects on the agenda of this consultation. Thus, whatever view is taken of the historical circumstances which led the Council of A.D. 381 to employ the language of John 15.26 in describing the Spirit as "proceeding" from the Father and the Son. The confessional-catechetical formulae of the sort from which the Creed takes its shape have to do with the relationship with God, in Christ, through the Spirit in which Christians stand through baptism. The credal definition of the separate and equal reality of the Spirit serves to clarify that relationship by saying that one's Christian identity cannot be adequately accounted for where any one of the elements of the confession is seen merely as an extension of the others. It will not really do to suppose that things will work "the other way around," so to speak, and that

¹³See Bishop Pearson, *On the Creed*, art. viii, with its running notes on the *filioque*, and Canon Allchin's remarks on Anglican views in Vischer, pp. 88ff.

theological definitions of the relation of the Spirit to the Father and the Son make any sense when treated in separation from the fundamental purpose of the confession as such. It has recently been common for Westerners, rightly or wrongly, to defend the "double procession" of the Spirit from the Father and the Son as an attempt to clarify or preserve the unity of the divine action confessed in the Creed, and then for Easterners to insist that such a defense compromises basic teaching about the equality of the persons, unless what their opponents have in view is merely the unity of the "operations" of the persons. But both "sides," if such they be, need to restart their thinking from the basic fact the Creed arises from confessional—even doxological—assertions about the source of Christian identity rather than from theological formulations in their right.

But it is just at this point that we can pass to the question of the work of the Spirit in the Church. As we have insisted earlier, it is the purpose of the classic confessional-catechetical formulae to assert that the gathering of the *ecclesia* into which Christians are introduced by baptism is a witness to the work of the Spirit, and to do so initially in the face of Montanist and Gnostic claims to the special possession of the Spirit or of unique saving knowledge not possessed by the Christian community at large. Its style and language—its confessional character—is not such that it can be said to limit the work of the Spirit to the Church or to guarantee the decisions of the ecclesiastical authority. The widely divergent views of the early centuries on both these subjects were impelled by very different considerations.

The creeds can, of course, be made to say any number of things, and it is now frequently said that they—and in particular the *filioque*—helped in the development of the notion that the structures of the Church are guaranteed in their functioning by the Spirit, and hence, negatively, in the appearance of claims for the functioning of the Spirit beyond and even in opposition to the ecclesiastical authority which has been a recurrent phenomenon of the life of the Medieval western Church and its Reformation successors, including the Roman Catholic Church. It seems to me at best difficult to make such a sweeping generalization. The polarization to which we refer is real enough. But its theological and sociological roots in the life of western Christendom are such as to make it difficult to think that it has even a superficial relationship to western views of the "double procession" of the Spirit, which has been as common among western critics of the ecclesiastical authority as it has been among its supporters.

The English history of this polarization certainly shows a variety of features which recur elsewhere in one form or another. The Puritan critique of the structures of the Church of England was mounted on the ground that it did not conform to the biblical pattern from which alone a true church could take its existence, and the response of Richard Hooker¹⁴ took shape around the central notion that the Church exists even where it is in need of reform rather than around any exclusive claim to the possession of the Spirit. The left wing sects of the Commonwealth period regarded both episcopal and presbyteral government as belonging to the powers of the present age which would be swept away at the judgment. The Wesleys and their associates differed within and among themselves as to whether baptism or personal conversion mark the beginning of the Christian life, and foreshadowed tensions which became evident in the later history of British and American Evangelicalism both within and beyond the Church of England. In all of these movements the assumption is made that the Spirit acts, rather exclusively than otherwise, in the formation of whatever is regarded as the true Church. The sources of the criticism of existing structures are to be sought elsewhere in the thought and circumstances of their critics and defenders.

At the present time, of course, the polarization to which we refer is enshrined in the background of the divided Christian communities which we represent, and is consequently an important matter for ecumenical discussion. But if the credal affirmation about the Spirit and the Church is to have any real significance in that discussion, as it surely ought to have, it will most likely be found where the creeds are read in the light of their character as classic confessional-catechetical formulae. If the gathering of the *ecclesia* is a witness to the work of the Spirit, then it is more rather than less incumbent upon us to see that its visible life is shaped in such a way as to proclaim and celebrate its spiritual origin. At the same time, whatever else is to be said about the work of the Spirit, its marks will be in the deepest and oldest sense "ecclesial" in character. To say this is not to resolve the differences which separate us, either with regard to the inherited structures of the Christian community or to what it means to be *ecclesia* in the midst of the contemporary world. It may be to provide a framework for a discussion of those differences

¹⁴Laws 3.

which arise out of the language and style—the confessional character—of the credal affirmation as we can now understand it.

The Sacraments, the Individual, and the Community

It is but a step further to comment on the questions of the work of the Spirit in the sacraments, and in what is called in our agenda “the individual believer and . . . the community.” Moreover, it is on these questions that I can say more than has thus far been the case about “Anglican perspectives and writings,” and should add that, whatever the language of the questions I discuss may be, I am not intending to suggest that there is any work or operation of the Spirit which is distinct from that of the Father and the Son.

Definitions of sacraments and their effects belong to the Medieval and Reformation west, as does the juxtaposing of the individual and the community, and Anglican thinking in both areas has dealt with these subjects in the terms dictated by the times. On the other hand, Anglicans have come to think, not altogether wrongly, that their patristic interests and their involvement in modern liturgical study have made their contributions to the discussion of these subjects valuable.

On the sacraments, then, Anglicans certainly debated the sixteenth-century issues with which all were concerned, but very largely stood in agreement with the views of Bucer and Calvin to the effect that the water of baptism and the bread and wine of the Eucharist are “effective signs” of our participation in the body of Christ through rebirth in him in the baptismal washing and the receiving of his body and blood in the eucharistic meal. In due course, however, patristic study and knowledge of early liturgical materials helped bring to the fore the conviction that is through invocation of the Spirit that the elements are made vehicles of the divine action of incorporation into the body of Christ. The interpretation and, where possible, revision of Anglican liturgical formularies reflects this conviction on the part of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers.

In any case, whether because of this conviction or not, it has been easy to absorb and contribute to the present discussion of the continuity between Jewish and Christian forms of blessing and making thanksgiving to God for what God has done and continues to do. For us, as for others, the controversial subjects of offering, consecration,

and sacrifice, once debated in isolation from one another, fall together happily within the pattern of praising God, recalling the redemptive work of God over the water of baptism and the bread and wine of the Eucharist, and praying that the gifts presented be once again the means by which that work is effected according to God's promise. In this context, of course, the invocation of the Spirit assumes a significance far greater than seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Anglican writers ascribed to it—and, it should be added, a place in the whole pattern of Christian thinking about the work of the Spirit in the gathering together of the *ecclesia* similar to that given it in the creeds, for the good reason that the ancient prayer formulae which have come alive once again are of the same character as the ancient confessional-catechetical formulations. It is hard to exaggerate the significance of the fact that a new way of seeing the relation of the work of the Spirit in the sacraments and in the formation of the Church—new in the sense of rediscovered or reappropriated—is now open to us.

On the relation of the work of the Spirit in "the individual believer and . . . the community," it is perhaps possible to take a clearer line with respect to there being something of an Anglican position. The celebrated figures of seventeenth-century Anglican "spirituality," Andrewes, Herbert, Donne, and Taylor, among others, differed a good deal in the language which they used to talk about the development of the inner life of the Christian, whether treating it under the category of grace or celebrating it as the work of the Spirit. But a theme connecting them all, and arising out of their experience with and convictions about the "common prayer" of the Church, is that Christian worship is at once the celebration of the community and of the individuals which make it up. Each is the expression of the other, and each serves to direct the other towards its proper end. A colleague of mine echoes the tradition, which is also seen in Keble in the nineteenth century and in Martin Thornton in this, when he insists on saying that we have commonly adhered to a distinction between "public" and "personal" rather than between "public" and "private" prayer.¹⁵

I suppose that all this has some bearing on what Anglicans may want to say about the operation of the Spirit "in the individual believer

¹⁵David Siegenthaler, "The Oxford Movement," papers from Conference on Anglican Spirituality, Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, MA., 1984.

and . . . the community." At least in the discussions provoked by the Wesleys and the Anglican Evangelicals, who scarcely belong outside the "tradition" in its broader sense, it has been common to be wary about a distinction between the work of the Spirit in the individual and in the community, and to say that the authentic marks of the work of the Spirit are those which are conducive to the manifestation of the *ecclesia*, whatever tensions they may seem to create between the individual believer and the ecclesiastical authority, each of which needs to be open to the views of the other. Though it is too early to say what effect this general approach may have in the present circumstances of the appearance among of us of charismatic groups, it is already clear that it is according to some such definition of what is at stake that dialogue is now beginning to take place. Until it is proved otherwise, it seems to me that this is at least in line with the credal confession about the work of the Spirit as it has, however inconsistently, been perceived by us.

The Spirit Beyond the Confines of the Christian Community

Finally, I bring together two other questions we have been asked to address—one relating to the work of the Spirit beyond the Christian community and the other about the "politics of the Spirit" in the structures of the Church and the society—not because they naturally fall together but because they are often put together in a time when the church leadership is often seen as insufficiently aware of the relation of "systematic" social change to the betterment of the human condition.

On the subject of the work of the Spirit beyond the Christian community, then, we have already had more than one occasion to note that the confession of the work of the Spirit in the gathering of the *ecclesia* does not address the issue. It may indeed suggest ways in which Christians will seek to discern the work of the Spirit beyond the Christian community. But widely divergent views of the larger issue were held by people equally committed to the confessional language. Irenaios, a notable defender of the confession, was not entirely unsympathetic to the claims of the Montanists, while Origen limited the work of the Spirit to the perfection of souls returning to God through Christ but cast his view of that return in such cosmic terms as to embrace the whole plenitude of human souls. Latin African rigorists, including Cyprian, perhaps come closest in the early centuries to limiting the work of the Spirit to the community of conscious

faith, but theirs was not by any means the common view of the time.

Among the Medieval and Reformation churches, the issue of the work of the Spirit beyond the Church may probably be described as largely speculative, except as it was transformed into the issue of the work of the Spirit beyond or in opposition to the ecclesiastical authority—the polarization mentioned earlier. But encounter with non-Christian cultures, and the rise of a new philosophical universalism have recreated the issue in new and pressing terms. To consider only Anglican writers, the nineteenth century saw claims to the limitation of the work of the Spirit to the Church, on the part of both Anglican Evangelicals and representatives of the Catholic Revival such as Canon Pusey, give way to various forms of “universalism,” such as those seen in the authors of *Lux Mundi* and in the work of the now celebrated theologian F. D. Maurice. In fact, it has been Maurice’s insistence that the Church is the visible witness to the universal sovereignty of God, the kingdom of Christ, and the operation of the Spirit which has, as much as anything else, provided Anglicans with a point of departure from which to address a wide range of contemporary issues, from the conflict of world religions, to the need for Christian unity, to the problems of human society.

We have no desire to exaggerate the importance of Maurice, who has in any case been more of a stimulus to thought than the founder of a “school” of his own. But it is certainly true that he was a major contributor to recent Anglican thinking about the work of the Spirit in and beyond the Christian community. While Maurice was outspoken against any claim to the exclusive possession of the Spirit, he took the confession of the Spirit as calling the Church into being as the clue to the universal purpose of God in the recreation and reconciliation of humanity.

Reference to Maurice can serve as a point of transition to the question of the “politics of the Spirit,” at least as that question may refer to recent Christian attempts to take account of the way in which social and economic systems effect the character of human existence, for better or worse, and to assess calls for “systemic” social and economic change. Maurice himself, though he embraced the title “Christian socialist,” belonged to a generation which was unaware of the significance of these issues. But it was Maurice’s theology which inspired Anglican writers of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to call for what we should now describe as “systemic” change in the interest of the betterment of the human condition. His

influence is apparent, for instance, in the 1890 Church Congress address of B. F. Westcott, former student of Maurice and bishop of Durham, which spoke out of Westcott's experience with the coal miners of his diocese to the effect that the system of "wage labour . . . is as little fitted to represent . . . the connection of man with man in the production of wealth as in earlier times slavery or serfdom." And it is but a step from Westcott to the figure of William Temple, archbishop of Canterbury, whose concern for social change of a comprehensive sort extended beyond the Malvern Conference in an ecumenical direction, as well as into the policies of the British Labour Party.

Temple's work remains of real significance for Anglicans. It is true that his untimely death, in the midst of the absorbing events of World War II, came when he had only begun to appreciate Barth's comprehensive criticism of plans for social change which discount the human tendency to corrupt all social systems, however nicely constructed. He perhaps never grasped what his friend Reinhold Niebuhr was about in seeking practical ways in which the imperatives of the Gospel could lead to alliances with human self-interest in the creation of provisional plans for bettering the human condition. But he remained unshaken in this conviction that the involvement of the Church in social problems sprang from its existence as Church rather than from any secondary consideration.¹⁶

At the present, of course, Anglicans no less than others have to listen carefully to a rather different and differently originated concern to identify the impulse toward human liberation from oppressive social structures with the work of Christ or of the Spirit, and to do so in circumstances in which the structures of the Church are seen as themselves oppressive and at odds with the divine purpose. It is impossible to foresee what, if any, general consensus among Anglican writers will be forthcoming in response to this concern. But reports of the work of Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission, appointed by the present archbishop of Canterbury with these issues in mind among others, suggests an approach which has learned

¹⁶M. B. Reckitt, *Maurice to Temple: A Century of the Social Movement in the Church of England* (London, 1947), treats of Maurice's wide influence. A. G. Hebert, *Liturgy and Society: The Function of the Church in the Modern World* (London, 1935) is something of an Anglican classic which is consciously indebted to Maurice. I have tried to describe the trends of thought of the period in my "After the Oxford Movement," paper from the Conference on Anglican Spirituality aforementioned.

much positively and negatively from Temple. It is the task of the Church as Church to support the impulse toward human liberation from oppressive social structures, but to do so recognizing that the human spirit cannot easily be identified with the divine Spirit and that the most nobly conceived social structures are capable of corruption. The call to all Christians is for "repentance" or change of mind in the light of the imperatives of the Gospel. But this call is a call issued to people to understand their identity in terms of the Christian confession of faith, and its assertion that the gathering of the *ecclesia* is the work of the Spirit, rather than in some other terms.¹⁷

Conclusion

It is clear to me at this point that what I have written has much more to do than I had originally intended that it should with the notion that the study of the creeds against their background as ancient confessional-catechetical formulations shows that they have much more of a function as sources of unifying Christian thought and action than is often now assumed to be the case. But even if this is so—and if it seems a long way from consideration of the *filioque* to issues raised by "liberation" theology—it seems to me none the less that such a study may help to bring together the congery of issues with which the consultation has to deal, and to suggest a way in which its work may be carried forward.¹⁸

¹⁷The last of the present series of meetings of the Commission was held at Dublin in July 1985. Its report, thus far only available in a preliminary draft, will be forthcoming.

¹⁸This appended note must suffice to deal with the important question of "the problems of using languages and images that have been traditionally applied to the Spirit (wind, fire, and dove) in the contemporary context, and images which are emerging to enrich our understanding of the Spirit."

The question would seem to have in view the value of using inherited images at the present time, and the usability of unspecified images now said to be coming to the fore. But the general subject raised, that of expressing the experience of the divine in human imagery, is an extraordinarily large one, and even the most recent writing on the subject is virtually beyond commentary. Certainly all ways of imaging our experience of the divine are more or less adequate both to our experience and to the reality which they are intended to represent. Some images will be renewed in their usability by present experience, while others will doubtless be born, as has always been the case. It is hard to judge whether some images are more satisfactory than others. But it can at least be said that some images will commend

themselves through use by congregations of Christians—in effect by liturgical use—while others may remain the property of particular individuals alone, and that without denying their significance themselves. This, too, has been the case in the past, and is likely to be the case in the future.

So far as images of the Spirit are concerned, it would seem that they are likely to be less “personal” in the modern sense of the word than is the case with the other persons of the Godhead. Thus the images of wind and fire are not surprising, since they suggest something beyond our control which scatters, purges, and recreates. But these images have commonly been used of the other persons of the Godhead as well, while the list of images “traditionally applied” to the Spirit omits those which have to do with sustaining, nurturing, and “mothering,” which strike a more personal note. It would be hard to say what a study of the full range of imagery would show on this score.

With regard to new images of the Spirit, I would suppose that it would continue to be the case that some will prove capable of appropriation for general use and some remain the property of individuals. Recent Anglican experience with modern hymnody suggests that this will be the case.

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The Word of God in Islam

MAHMOUD MUSTAFA AYOUB

I WOULD LIKE TO REITERATE a point which I have made several times already in this conference: that this meeting is historic moment in the history of Muslim-Christian relations. After the fruitful exchanges in philosophy and science between Byzantium and the Arab Muslim empire, after the acceptance by early Muslim thinkers of Aristotle as the "First Teacher," after many wars and much bloodshed, we come to the moment in our history in which we can, at least in North America, talk as the people of God, as people of faith, across the differences and similarities of our traditions. I believe that we need to tell the world again that Christ was a Palestinian, and that Christianity started not in Rome but in our area of the Middle East. We cannot therefore study and understand the culture of either group without understanding the culture and history of the other. Islam was born in a Christian spiritual milieu, a fact which is recognized in the Qur'ān and early Christian tradition.¹

Let me begin by relating a little anecdote. One of my favorite dramatic moments every year is to attend what we call in Lebanon the *hajma*, that is, the Easter vigil where at midnight the priest and everyone else reenacts the descent of Christ to Hades to save the souls of those who were before him. So I went while in Boston to the Cathedral of Saint John of Damascus. The priest was, I believe, Father

¹ See for example Qur'ān 5.82. For the role of Christianity in Arabia before Islam, see Spencer J. Trimingham, *Christianity Among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times* (London, 1979) and Tor Andrae, *Islamische Mystiker* (Stuttgart, 1960), pp. 13-43.

Murphy. At the end we all went up to have sandwiches, and Father Murphy saw me, a new face sitting there. He came up to me and asked, "What is your faith?" I didn't want to disappoint him, so I said, "I'm from Lebanon." He said, "Yes, that's good, but what is your faith?" "I study at Harvard," I said, but he persisted. "Father," I said, "I'm not a Christian, but I love your traditions. May I now please have my roast beef sandwich?"

The word of God in Islam includes a great deal of meanings and significances. Linguistically, the term *kalima* may mean one word, a discourse, or even a poem. When applied to God, *kalima* means decree or ordinance, a source of blessing or of judgment, or, finally, revelation. It is these three aspects of the Word of God which I wish to discuss here.

In many places the Qur'ān speaks of the word, or decree, of God being confirmed against a people as a judgment or a punishment.² In this sense the Word of God as divine judgment, ordinance, or decree is at the same time an affirmation of his absolute sovereignty and majesty. As a source of blessing the word of God is used in the Qur'ān as the good, salutary, or beautiful divine word (*kalimat al-ḥusnā*). The word of God in this sense is used in the Qur'ān to signify a source of reward for the Children of Israel for their patience.³ Another instance is the reference to Adam, Abraham, and other prophets in which the word of God also denotes selection.⁴

Most importantly, however the word of God is that word of guidance and salvation which he promised to humanity in the primordial covenant. The Qur'ān tells us that God "drew out of the loins of the Children of Israel their progenies, and made them bear witness against themselves, saying, 'Am I not your Lord?' " They said, "Yes, we bear witness . . ."⁵ This divine question and our human answer to it constitute both God's covenant with humanity and his promise of guidance through revelation. This divine covenant is the affirmation of divine Oneness (*tawḥīd*) by humanity. Yet because we forget, God took it upon himself to remind us of this affirmation—or rather guide us to it—in every epoch of our history through revelation. The word of revelation, however, is not only that which God communicates to

² See Qur'ān 10.33.

³ See Qur'ān 7.137.

⁴ See Qur'ān 2.37 and 2.124.

⁵ Qur'ān 7.172.

us; it means or includes that which we share with God. What do we in fact share with God as his word? The Qur'ān states that, "God has borne witness that there is no god but he. Likewise did the angels and those who are endowed with knowledge." The word we share with God is the word of witness that he is one. The verse, however, goes on to say, "There is no god but he, maintaining (his creation) in justice. He is the Mighty, the Wise."⁶

In its true meaning, salvation means healing or wholesomeness through divine succor and providence. Revelation, I wish therefore to argue, is the Islamic way to salvation. For to say that there exists no salvation in Islam would be to deny a reality on which the Qur'ān concentrates throughout. How otherwise is a human being to escape eternal torment and to attain eternal bliss? While the Qur'ān does not deny that Adam sinned, it regards sin simply as a prototypical act to which we are all open—to think of ourselves as equal to God. Satan, we are told in the Qur'ān, tempted Adam and his spouse with eternal life and unending dominion.⁷

But as with all of us, the Qur'ān declares, Adam repented. This repentance, however, was not enough. Adam's salvation came again through revelation, through the divine word. Thus Adam, the Qur'ān tells us, "received certain words from his Lord, and he turned toward him, for he is truly Relenting Compassionate."⁸ Adam therefore becomes the first sinner. Yes, but also the first prophet. It is thus in these two roles that Adam and his descendants become the representatives of God in his earth. Adam was followed by other prophets in affirmation of God's promise to him and his wife when God said to him (as related in the Qur'ān), "Yet guidance from me will surely come to you, and whosoever follows my guidance, no fear will come upon them, nor shall they grieve."⁹

Abraham, the father of prophets, was also tried by words from his Lord, and he fulfilled them. Hence he becomes the chief monotheist, the first Muslim, and the father of all prophets to come. Moses likewise was favored by being directly addressed by God, and was

⁶ Qur'ān 3.18.

⁷ Qur'ān 20.120.

⁸ Qur'ān 2.37. For a discussion of the various interpretations of these verses of the Qur'ān by commentators, see M. Ayoub, *The Qur'ān and its Interpreters* (Albany, 1984), pp. 84-93.

⁹ Qur'ān 2.38.

commanded with his people to "take with strength" the revelation vouchsafed them by God.¹⁰

While other prophets received the word of God in the form of divine revelation or communication, Christ is the word of God which he sent to Mary, the "righteous woman" who guarded well her chastity. She therefore became worthy of God's spirit and Word, Jesus the Christ.¹¹ Is there a sense in which we can speak of Christ as the divine Logos in Islam? God's creative act is expressed in both the Bible and the Qur'ān by words of command. Hence in Genesis we read that the first act of creation was the divine resounding word, "Let there be light." In the Qur'ān the Word of God as the creative command is expressed in the divine *kun* ("be"), the fiat of creation out of nothing. The Qur'ān says, "Surely, the likeness of Jesus with God is as that of Adam. He created him from dust and said to him: 'Be,' and thus he was."¹² Similarly, Jesus was created by the same divine fiat or creative command, and thus he is like Adam, an original creation. In his case as in that of Adam, the operative divine power of creation is the word of command (*amr*) and not the word of *khalq* (creative act).

Adam, the Qur'ān says, had no resolve (*'azm*).¹³ Jesus, however, is one of the prophets of power, or resolve (*'ulū al-'azm*). Jesus moreover was, unlike Adam, not affected by the touch of Satan. He is like Adam, but without sin. According to a tradition related from the Prophet, every child when born is touched by Satan and he bursts out crying because of Satan's touch, but not so in the cases of Jesus and his mother.¹⁴ Christ, in a sense, completes Adam. Adam was both prophet and sinner, but Jesus was a prophet without sin, immune from sin, protected by God from the touch of Satan. Is this not the view of many of the early Greek Fathers?

Even though the Qur'ān speaks of Christ as the Word of God, this does not mean from the point of view of Islam revelation properly speaking. Rather revelation is, following the ancient Semitic pattern, a divine sound, an uttered word which may also be contained

¹⁰See Qur'ān 4.164.

¹¹See Qur'ān 4.171 and 21.91.

¹²Qur'ān 3.59.

¹³Qur'ān 20.115.

¹⁴Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo, 1375/1955), 15, H. 7902ff.

in a book, broadly understood. It may be instructive to read the beginning of the first chapter of the Fourth Gospel both Christianly and Islamically, if you will. John declares: "In the beginning was the Word (Logos), and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Muslims have also for the most part affirmed that the Qur'ān in its essence is the eternal and uncreated Word of God. John tells us further that the Word was with God, but where we differ is with John's next statement, that is, that the Word is God. The great theological controversy over the Qur'ān, a controversy which remains unresolved to this day, concerns the relationship of the Qur'ān, as the Word of God, to God himself. To my knowledge, no one has asserted that the Qur'ān is God. Another important difference is that while for John the divine Logos is the agent of creation—"all things were made through him . . .";¹⁵ the eternal Qur'ān is the source of salvation or guidance. But perhaps the most concrete difference is that while John declares "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us,"¹⁶ the eternal Qur'ān was made a book and entered into our time and history.

That the Word was made flesh affirms the humanity of Christ not only in theological theory, but in actual fact of his life here on earth. That the Qur'ān is a book "contained between two covers" affirms its human dimension as it shares our history, shaping it and being shaped by it. Thus the humanity of God's revelation in both Christianity and Islam has not, I believe, been taken as seriously as it deserves to be taken by either of the two communities of faith.

The Qur'ān was communicated to the Prophet in two ways. Both are important, although usually one is given prominence. It was communicated through the angel Gabriel to the Prophet when Islam began, not in the bustle of Mecca or the clamor of Medina, but rather in the solitude of one human being with his Lord, in the cave of Mount Hira outside Mecca. Then the angel came with the first revelation of the Qur'ān, which was the command to "recite in the Name of your Lord who created, created man from a bloodclot . . . and taught him what he knew not."¹⁷ For nearly twenty-two years the angel came with subsequent revelations which made Muslim history. But there was another mode of revelation which is crucial for the understanding

¹⁵John 1.1-3.

¹⁶John 1.14.

¹⁷Qur'ān, Sura 96.

of the profundity of the Prophet's mission, personality and faith. We are told on the authority of 'A'ishah, the Prophet's wife, that at times the Prophet would fall into something like a trance. He would hear in his ears a sound like the ringing of bells. If this happened on a hot summer day often he would shiver as if it were cold, and when it happened on a cold winter day, his face would drip with sweat as if it were hot. Then he would ask to be covered with a mantle, and when he woke up he would understand the sound that was communicated to him not as words but as divine "logoi," unbound by letters and sounds. The Qur'ān was communicated to a man whom, Islam insists, had no education in the formal sense, in that he could not read or write. This does not mean, of course, that he was not a highly gifted individual, but that his mind, as a pure receptacle of the divine Word, could not be contaminated with human wisdom. The Qur'ān was gathered on bones, stones, palm leaves, and in the minds and hearts of men. It shaped our history, but it was waiting for us to shape it and make it the Book that it remains to this day. Through the collections and the final recension of the Qur'ān, prepared under the direction of the third Caliph Othman, the Qur'ān not only did shape our history, but was also shaped by it.

I have earlier argued for the humanity of divine revelation. Two important principles may be cited in support of this argument. The principle of abrogation, which means that God can suppress the ordinance laid down in a verse or even remove¹⁸ the verse altogether as the general welfare of the community demands, is an indication of the close relationship of the Qur'ān to the life of the Muslim community. Muslims have been concerned with the reason or occasion for the revelation of many verses of the Qur'ān. Many verses were revealed in answer to a particular problem in the life of the community. Thus *asbāb al-nuzūl* or "occasions of revelation" have bound the Qur'ān to human history, and even its mundane experiences. I therefore conclude that the Qur'ān shares in our humanity in entering fully into history in the same way that Christ the eternal Logos entered into our humanity as well. It is this which makes the Qur'ān open for study and exegesis at all times.

In this conference parallels have already been drawn between Christ and the Qur'ān and the Prophet and the Virgin Mary. Let me carry them a little further. There are two kinds of prayers in Islam:

¹⁸See Qur'ān 2.106.

that which we call *du'ā*, the supplicatory prayer, a free prayer, and that which we call *ṣalāt*, which denotes the official canonical five daily prayers. The latter is obligatory worship. Muslims pray with the Qur'ān and through it. In this way, therefore, the eternal Word of God is interiorized by us and fulfilled in our lives through prayer. The Prophet is said to have declared that God has praised himself from all eternity, and he could not teach us better praise than to praise him with the words with which he praised himself: "All praise be to God, the Lord of all beings." Christ shared his word with humanity as he taught his disciples to pray, "O Father, thou who art in heaven." God has likewise shared his word with us when he taught us to pray with the Fātiḥa, the opening Sura of the Qur'ān. We are told in a divine utterance (*ḥadīth qudsī*) that, "I have divided the prayer (*ṣalāt*, in which the Fātiḥa is recited repeatedly) between me and my servant, and my servant shall have what he prays for. For when the servant says, "All praise be to God, the Lord of all beings," God says, "My servant has praised me." When the servant says, "The All-Merciful, the Compassionate," God says, "My servant has magnified me." When the servant says, "Master of the day of judgment," God says, "My servant has glorified me . . . this is my portion and to him belongs what remains."¹⁹ Islamic prayer, again echoing that primordial divine promise of revelation and guidance, becomes a recreation of that covenant, in the words of the Fātiḥa, "Guide us on the straight way." The five daily prayers of Islam may therefore be considered to be the sacrament of Islam. As you appropriate and interiorize Christ through the bread and wine, so do we interiorize and appropriate God's word through recitation and prayer. It is our communion with God.

The transcendence of the divine Word in Islam goes beyond mere prayer and supplication. Like God, his Word is infinite in meaning and significance for our lives. Thus the Qur'ān declares, "Say, 'Were the oceans to be ink for the words of my Lord, the oceans would be exhausted before the words of my Lord are exhausted, even if we were to bring many oceans like it without end.'"²⁰

God's word in Islam is the link between ephemeral humanity and

¹⁹Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jamī' al-Bayān 'an Ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad and Aḥmad Muṣṭafā Shākir (Cairo, 1332/1954), 1, p. 201.

²⁰Qur'ān 18.109.

divine transcendence. The insistence on divine transcendence in both the Qur'ān sharing in this absolute divine transcendence. Therefore the Islamic objection to the Trinity is not a doctrinal objection, but rather it is an objection against violating the divine transcendence or what we call in Arabic *tanzīh*. Islam therefore insists that God must be God. Yet the Trinity in Christianity as I understand it is in reality not a doctrine, but a mystery. It remains a mystery in spite of the many treatises, dialogues, church councils, credal statements, and the attempts of Christians to understand it for themselves and to explain it to others. Whatever else the Trinity is, it signifies God's operation in the world to create, to save, and to guide humanity back to him, who is its source and ultimate end. Many have written that what is analogous in the Islamic tradition to the Trinity in Christianity are the divine attributes. From the theological point of view this may be true, because, as al-Ash'arī reminded us, they are "neither he nor are they other than he." Therefore, divine attributes share in that aspect of mystery; they are that divine mystery which we can only know in the concretely created things.

But may I suggest another, and perhaps in the final analysis a more fruitful, analogue in Islam to the Trinity. It is the word or words (*logoi*) of God—the word of command, of creation, and of revelation and guidance.

We Muslims and Christians share a common commitment of faith to the One and only God, who made himself known as he spoke "in many and various ways."²¹ He spoke through Greek philosophy and the Greek idiom, through the Hebrew language, and through Arabic, and also through many other languages. For the Qur'ān puts the divine challenge to humankind in the assertion that "there is not community but that a warner was sent to us," this "in order that humankind shall have no argument against God after messengers have come."²² This challenge is fulfilled in all of us again through the word of God in all its diverse expressions.

All human beings, the Qur'ān says, were once one nation and one community. But "had it not been for a word which proceeded from your Lord, judgment would have been passed over them concerning the things in which they had differed."²³ Humanity is one in all its

²¹Hebrews 1.1.

²²Qur'ān 35.24 and 4.165.

²³Qur'ān 10.19.

elemental needs. It is one in its capacity to know God, but it is diverse in its culture and expression of faith.

In a world now dominated by material concerns and the threat of total annihilation, if we have these things in common, then what ought to be the purpose of our dialogue? First our dialogue must not assume that we are one in our expression of faith and therefore ask for disappointment and frustration when we discover that we are not. Muslims assume that Christians ought to be at least like them. This is why they judge Christianity by the criterion of Islam. Muslims will not be able to understand the Christian concept of revelation—God revealing himself in the flesh—as long as they insist that revelation must be as in Islam another book. We must realize that for the Christian community over its two thousand years of history, revelation has meant incarnation and redemption. Even where this doctrine does and will clash with our Islamic understanding of revelation, we have to start from it if we are to “know the truth,” and reap the fruits of our dialogue. Similarly on the other side, Christians cannot continue to deny Muḥammad the role of prophet. Nor would it do to be generous and say that he is a prophet, but only like those of the Old Testament, when we know he did not play that role. Muḥammad is a prophet like Moses; he brought to the world a new dispensation and founded a community which changed the course of history. Can the Christian community today accept that revelation was not only *preparatio evangelica* before Christ, but that post-Christian revelation may yet have something to say to the world.

If we then approach Islam and Christianity on their own terms and try to understand them through their own doctrines and history, our dialogue will achieve its desired end. We must strive for fellowship of faith and not simply a means by which we can understand and tolerate in differently the existence of one another as two communities of faith. I am convinced—and in this perhaps I am a heretic in the view of both communities—that the multiplicity of expressions of faith from ancient China to Iran, to Palestine, Byzantium and Rome, to Arabia and then to the New World is willed by God to show that the truth is larger than any of its expressions. Yet in this global human family there are small clans or tribes, and we are all the tribes of Abraham, some physically, but all of us spiritually.

Because the Qur’ān recognized revelation as universal and historic and so because the Prophet saw in the Christian community that fellowship of faith, he ordered the weak and defenseless of his

nascent community to make their first *hijra* or migration to Ethiopia, the then chief Christian country of the area. Thus Islam began not only in a physical exile of faith but in a spiritual exile, which we now all share. Our meeting of dialogue here in North America ought to have been held in Istanbul, in Beirut or in Athens. Both our traditions of faith are universal in their scope and history. They are both Eastern and Western, both heirs to Abraham and Aristotle. Both communities are, more importantly, heirs to God's revelation, and if we are pure in heart, perhaps heirs of God's kingdom.

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The Word of God in Orthodox Christianity

BISHOP MAXIMOS AGHIORGOUSSIS

IN THE BEGINNING was the Word: the Word was with God and the Word was God. He was with God in the beginning. Through him all things came to be, not one thing had its being but through him. All that came to be had life in him and that life was the light of men, a light that shines in the dark, a light that darkness could not overpower.

A man came, sent by God. His name was John. He came as a witness, as a witness to speak for the light, so that everyone might believe through him. He was not the light, only a witness to speak for the light.

The Word was the true light that enlightens all men; and he was coming into the world. He was in the world that had its being through him, and the world did not know him. He came to his own domain and his own people did not accept him. But to all who did accept him he gave power to become children of God, to all who believe in the name of him who was born not out of human stock or urge of the flesh or will of man but of God himself. The Word was made flesh, he lived among us, and we saw his glory, the glory that is his as the only Son of the Father, full of grace and truth.

John appears as his witness. He proclaims: 'This is the one of whom I said: He who comes after me ranks before me because he existed before me.'

Indeed, from his fulness we have, all of us, received yes, grace in return for grace, since, through the Law was given through Moses, grace and truth have come through Jesus Christ. No one

has ever seen God; it is the only Son, who is nearest the Father's heart, who has made him known [Jn 1.1-18].

This text, the prologue of the Fourth Gospel is at the basis of the Christian understanding of Logos (Word of God) in relation to God and creation. It is the text that constitutes the heart of Christian theology and spirituality. Saint John, to whom Christian tradition attributes the Fourth Gospel, is called the Theologian, because of this text, for the author of the Fourth Gospel deals with the Word of God who became flesh in such a unique way that it gives Christianity its distinctive character among the other monotheistic religions, including Judaism and Islam.

This text, which is the great Easter proclamation of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and which is in many ways utilized by the Eastern Orthodox Liturgy, was also utilized in the defense of the Christian doctrine against the Gnostics (by Saint Irenaios), the Arians (by Saint Athanasios and the Cappadocian Fathers, among others), and later in the dialogue with Islam. Along with the doctrine of the image of God, the Logos/Word of God doctrine was utilized to defend Christian monotheism "against those who accuse us of venerating three Gods." The basic Christian defense was that the Word of God, as well as the Spirit of God, were always with God, one in essence with him, constituting, however, distinct hypostases from him. Thus, by using the Logos doctrine, Christian apologists preserved the mystery of God's unity and distinctiveness, as affirmed in Christian revelation. The apologists were conscious that with the Logos doctrine, they kept the unity of God as they also revered the mystery of God as trinity of hypostases, without introducing multiplicity in God. One in his essence and energies, God is triune in his hypostases, for there was no time when God did not have Reason/Word, and there was no time when God was not Spirit.

The same apologetic doctrine was utilized by Christian apologists against Islam, as one discovers by reading the documents of those old polemics. Today's dialogue has a completely different character, as it was stated more than once in the context of this symposium.

The scope of this presentation will be a limited one: unfortunately, there is not much room in it for the patristic, liturgical, and spiritual witness regarding the Logos/Word of God doctrine in Orthodox Christianity. Since the dialogue partners are also People of the Book, I will limit myself to the sayings of the Book, with only one exception:

I believe that the Greek antecedents of the Logos doctrine in general are a necessary introduction to the Judaeo-Christian understanding of the same doctrine. Also, from a Christian point of view which considers the Old Covenant as the first stage of God's revelation completed by the New, the Old Testament doctrine on the Word of God is a necessary introduction to the Christian understanding of the Logos/Word of God. Thus, I will review the Greek and Old Testament antecedents first, before presenting the New Testament doctrine regarding the Logos/Word of God, a doctrine that culminates in the Johannine understanding of a "Christological Logos," as we read it in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel.

This presentation intends to be an academic one, in the context of the dialogue as given to us by our eminent keynoter, and as prescribed in the *Dialogue Decalogue* distributed to the participants of this symposium.¹ With this word of introduction, I can now proceed in the presentation of my materials.

One more thing should be said here: Since I am not a biblical scholar per se—my specialization is in the field of systematic theology—I had to heavily rely upon the work of specialists, with some personal investigation and examination of the sources used.²

THE GREEK ANTECEDENTS

Etymologically speaking, the word λόγος (word) comes from the verb λέγειν, which means to gather, count, enumerate, and narrate. In turn, λόγος, exactly parallel to λέγειν, means collection, counting, reckoning, calculation, account, consideration, review, evaluation, value, reflection, ground, condition, narrative, word, and speech.³

From the second part of the fifth century B.C., logos is subjectively

¹Leonard Swidler, "The Dialogue Decalogue," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 20.1 (Winter, 1983) 1-4 (revised, September, 1984).

²My presentation heavily relies on the excellent work by Gerhard Kittel on the scriptural understanding of the words λέγω, λόγος, ῥῆμα, λαλέω, Λόγος Θεοῦ in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Ann Arbor, 1967), 4, pp. 68-137. Henceforth, Kittel. Also the articles on Λόγος and Λόγος Θεοῦ by Socrates Gikas and Markos Siotis in *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἠθική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, ed. Vasileios Moustakis (Athens, 1962), 8, pp. 334-46 were most helpful. Henceforth, ΘΗΕ.

³Kittel, pp. 71-78.

used to mean man's *ratio*, his ability to think. Thus *logos* is synonymous with *voûς*, reason, the human mind or spirit, and thought. However, Plato maintains the distinction between mind (*διάνοια*) and word (*λόγος*), which is the expression of mind in words.

The term *logos* played an important role in Greek philosophy. Before we review the various developments, let us begin with the general statement that for the Greeks *logos* always implies a connected rational element in speech. It has no "creative power," as is the case in the Judaeo-Christian tradition.⁴

The *logos* concept in Greek philosophy and religion (or theology) develops according to two aspects, one logical and one metaphysical. To quote Kittel,

First, we have in view the use of *logos* for word, speech, utterance, revelation, not in the sense of something proclaimed and heard, but rather in that of something displayed, clarified, recognized, and understood, *logos* as the rational power of calculation in virtue of which man can see himself and his place in the cosmos; *logos* as the indication of an existing and significant context which is assumed to be intelligible; *logos* as the content itself in terms of its meaning and law, its basis and structure. Secondly, we have in view *logos* as a metaphysical reality and an established term in philosophy and theology, from which there finally develops in later antiquity, under alien influences, a cosmological entity and hypostasis of deity, a *δεύτερος θεός*.⁵

The starting point of the development of the *logos* concept is Heraklitos (± 500 B.C.). In Heraklitos, the two aspects of the *logos* concept are still significantly undivided. For Heraklitos, *logos* is the transcendent and lasting order in which the flux of things and events occurs, binding the individual to the whole. It is the principle by which all things behave, the connecting link between cosmos, man, and God. Also, this same *logos* when it applies to man, is man's power of thought, reason and speech, part of the universal spirit and common *Logos*.⁶

For the Sophists (fifth and fourth century B.C.), the unity of meaning which distinguishes Heraklitos is disrupted. *Logos* now becomes

⁴Ibid. pp. 78-79.

⁵Ibid. pp. 80-81.

⁶Ibid. p. 81; *ΘHE* pp. 334, 342.

“predominantly the rational power set in man, the power of speech and thought.”⁷ Gorgias Leontinos extols the “psychagogic” power of logos which is here almost personified: “Logos is a great ruler; in a small and insignificant body he achieves most divine works: he can make fear cease, dispel sadness, cause joy, and augment compassion.”⁸

Plato (c. 428-348/7 B.C.) identifies logos with the “supreme form” (or idea) that constitutes the “soul of the world.” For Plato, “thought, word, matter, nature, being and norm . . . are all brought into a comprehensive interrelation in the logos concept.”⁹ Plato transcends the individualistic logos of the Sophists to discover the power of logos, which only emerges when this logos is linked to the common reason (κοινὸς λόγος). There is a pre-existent harmony between the logos of the thinking individual soul and the logos of things in general.

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) sums up the classical understanding of human existence in his statement: “man is the only reason-endowed animal.” By logos Aristotle understands both reason and speech.¹⁰

In the Hellenistic times, the Stoics used the term logos to signify “the ordered and teleologically oriented nature of the world.”¹¹ It is the “cosmic law of reason,” identified with god/Zeus with providence and fate (πρόνοια, εἰμαρμένη). It is the “power that extends throughout the matter, and works immanently in all things.”¹² It is the organic power that gives shape to the unformed and inorganic matter, and that gives growth to plants and movement to animals. It is seminal reason (λόγος σπερματικός) according to Zeno: that is, it is “a seed which unfolds itself, and this seed is by nature reason.”¹³ It is this “seminal reason” present in the seeds of plants and animals that gives to each of them their particular shape.

⁷Kittel, p. 82.

⁸“Λόγος δυνάστης μέγας ἐστίν, ὃς σμικροτάτῳ σώματι καὶ ἀφανεστάτῳ θεϊότατα ἔργα ἀποτελεῖ· δύναται γὰρ καὶ φόβον παῦσαι καὶ λύπην ἀφελεῖν καὶ χαρὰν ἐνεργάσασθαι καὶ ἔλεον ἐπαυξῆσαι.” Ibid. p. 82; ΘΗΕ p. 342.

⁹Kittel, p. 83.

¹⁰Ibid. p. 84.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid. p. 85.

¹³Ibid.

Man's reason (logos) is only part of the great general logos. The duality of logos as reason and speech is expressed in the Stoic language, inwardly as inward reason (λόγος ἐνδιάθετος) and outwardly as spoken word (λόγος προφορικός).

In Neoplatonism, logos is also a "shaping power which lends form and life to things and is thus closely related to shape (εἶδος) and form (μορφή), light (φῶς), and life (ζωή)." Life is artistically fashioning power. Where it works, everything is shaped by the logos (λελόγωται). Nature is life and logos, the working power of form. Logos is the origin of all things; the world is logos, and all that is in it is logos (ἀρχὴ οὖν λόγος, καὶ πάντα λόγος).

This logos is an emanation from the nous, which in turn is an emanation from the One. Thus, logos is regarded both as a principle of unity (as an emanation from the one nous), and also as a principle of multiplicity that explains and justifies the variety of phenomena in the world. "This universe derives from and is shaped after the one Nous and the logos that emanates from it . . . and the logos is the one who brings harmony among all things and establishes only one order."¹⁴

The logos concept is enhanced with a religious significance in the Hellenistic Mysteries. The concept of sacred word (ἱερὸς λόγος) is introduced to signify "sacred history," "holy and mysterious doctrine," and "revelation." Logos is also identified with prayer here, thus becoming the worthy way to enter into relation with God.

In Hermetism, all aspects of the philosophical logos concept are gathered together, personified, and comprehended in the figure of the god Hermes. Hermes is called logos and son of God. However, "there is no implied incarnation" of this logos, "but the equation of a revealing and cosmogonic principle with one of the deities of popular religion . . . In other words, a concept is hypostatized as a god, or identified with a god. There is no question of the divine word of power and creation becoming man, incarnate."¹⁵ It is interesting to note that Hermes takes the role of a mediator and revealer who declares and makes known to men the will of the gods. He thus

¹⁴"Ἐξ ἑνὸς νοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λόγου ἀνέστη τόδε τὸ πᾶν καὶ διέστη . . . τοῦ δὲ λόγου ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁρμονίαν καὶ μίαν τὴν σύνταξιν εἰς τὰ ὅλα ποιούμενου." See Plotinos, *Ennead* 3. 2.2; Kittel, pp. 85-86.

¹⁵Kittel, p. 87.

He thus undertakes a soteriological role, "insofar as the logos is present for σωζειν. Thus, in Hellenistic mysticism logos is essentially a cosmic and creative potency, the guide and agent of knowledge, increasingly represented as a religious doctrine of salvation."¹⁶

The question arises: how much has this doctrine of the Greek philosophers and religion influenced the Christian doctrine of logos, as found in the prologue of Saint John's Gospel? This rich logos doctrine has certainly played a role in the life of the Church, since many of the Greek Fathers used much of this doctrine after making the proper adjustments. Some of this doctrine, and especially that of the Stoics, was also used by Philo Judaeus.

However, both the Old Testament and the New Testament logos doctrine is in contrast with the Greek logos doctrine as delineated above. The Old Testament and New Testament logos doctrine includes more than a logical or "dianoetic" element. Furthermore, the Judaeo-Christian doctrine of logos excludes its understanding as a "hypostatized concept," except in the Wisdom literature, where a power (the wisdom, or even the logos of God as a power of God) receives this hypostatization.

More specifically concerning the prologue of the Fourth Gospel, there is no parallel whatsoever between the Greek logos doctrine and that of Saint John; for Saint John's doctrine regarding the pre-existing Logos, who exists eternally by God and becomes flesh in time, is a completely new doctrine, which according to the Christian understanding can only come from direct revelation given by God himself.

PHILO JUDAEUS

In his writings, Philo of Alexandria (c. 20 B.C.-54 A.D.) uses the term logos over 300 times. The importance of the logos concept for Philo is more than obvious. Philo is certainly dependent upon the Greek philosophers, namely the Stoics, as he tries to harmonize his Jewish faith with Greek philosophy.

According to scholars, the Stoic λόγος τῆς φύσεως is the root of Philo's λόγος Θεοῦ or θεῖος λόγος, to be understood as "divine reason," and "the epitome of divine wisdom."¹⁷ However, Philo gives a new, personalized interpretation to this divine reason, which

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid. p. 88.

is different from that of the Stoics. This divine reason is not a god himself, as it was in the case of the Stoics. For Philo, this *logos* is "second after God, through whom all things were made" (τὸ δὲ γενικώτατόν ἐστιν ὁ Θεός, καὶ δεύτερος ὁ Θεοῦ λόγος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα λόγῳ μόνον ὑπάρχει). This *logos* is the "son of God" (ὁ τῶν πάντων λόγος ἐστὶ κατὰ μὲν Κέλσον αὐτὸς ὁ Θεός, κατὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ). As such this *logos*-Son of God is called the image of God through whom the world was created (Λόγος δ' ἐστὶν εἰκὼν Θεοῦ δι' οὗ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος δεδημιούργηται or ἐδημιουργεῖτο).

Thus, for Philo, this divine reason is a mediating figure between God and man, and God and the world. Through him, a link is established between the remotely transcendent God and his creation.¹⁸

In his effort to reconcile Greek philosophy with his Jewish faith, Philo becomes the natural bridge between the Greek world and that of the Judaeo-Christian revelation.

In terms of the influence that Philo may have exercised upon Christian thought, and especially in terms of the Fourth Gospel, one realizes that there are some similarities between the two. For example, the mediation of Philonian *logos*, its being an image of God and a link between God and his creation, and its being a creator *logos* and a "son of God," remind us very much of the Johannine *logos* doctrine, as found in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel. However, it is not at all clear that the Philonian *logos* is a pre-existing divine hypothesis, as in the prologue of John. Instead, the Philonian *logos* seems to be the personification of a divine energy, probably the creative power of God, to which Philo gave the name *logos*.

OLD TESTAMENT

The main Hebrew equivalents of the Greek *logos* are the roots *amar* and *dabar*. More rare is the word *millah* mostly restricted to Job. Etymologically speaking, in *dabar* "one is to seek the 'back' or 'background' of a matter." Everything has a *dabar*, a "background," a "meaning." Thus, in Hebrew speech the meaning or concept stands for the thing, "so that the thing as an event, has in its *dabar*, its historical element, and history is thus enclosed in the *debarim* as the background of things."¹⁹ Since the meaning of the thing is included

¹⁸Ibid. p. 89.

¹⁹Ibid. p. 92.

in its *dabar*, word and thing are co-extensive. Hence, the most important attribute of *dabar* and its translations as *logos* and *rhema* is truth: "In every spoken word, there should be a relation of truth between the word and thing, and a relation of fidelity between the one who speaks and the one who hears. Hence, the word belongs to the moral sphere, in which it must be a witness to something for the two persons concerned."²⁰

One more thing should be said about the Hebrew *dabar*, which in itself is of great theological significance: besides the intellectual, "dianoetic" element in *dabar* there is one more element, the so-called "dynamic" element. To quote Kittel:

Dianoetically, *dabar* always contains a νοῦς, a thought. In it is displayed the meaning of a thing, so that *dabar* always belongs to the field of knowledge. By its *dabar* a thing is known and becomes subject to thought. To grasp the *dabar* of a thing is to grasp the thing itself. It becomes clear and transparent; its nature is brought to light. . . . But along with the dianoetic element is the dynamic, even if this is not always so evident. Every *dabar* is filled with power which can be manifested in the most diverse energies. This power is felt by the one who receives the word and takes it to himself. But it is present independently of this reception in the objective effects that the word has in history. The two elements, the dianoetic and the dynamic, may be seen most forcefully in the word of God, and the prophets had a profound grasp of this from both sides, so that in this respect they are the teachers of all theology.²¹

It should be noted that in the Septuagint *logos* and *rhema*, being Greek words, naturally have a mainly dianoetic value. They receive their dynamic element from the Hebrew *dabar*. To quote Kittel once more:

Only in the Hebrew *dabar* is the material concept with its energy felt so vitally in the verbal concept that the word appears as a material force which is always present and at work, which runs and has the power to make alive . . . *Rhemata* in 3 Kings 11.41 or Genesis 15.1/27.1 stands for the Hebrew *debarim* which actually

²⁰Ibid. p. 93.

²¹Ibid. p. 92.

means history. History is the event established and narrated in the word, so that the thing and its meaning may both be seen, as expressed in the Hebrew *debarim* in the plural. From these examples it may be seen that the LXX concept cannot be wholly explained in terms of the Greek *logos* or *rhema*, but can be fully understood only against the background of the Hebrew *dabar*.²²

Prophetic Revelation

According to Old Testament scholars, the history of the theological development of the *dabar* concept has its roots in prophesy. There is a progressive development from revelation given in sign and a pictorial language, to direct revelation given to the writing prophets in direct speech from God.

In the first instance, the prophet is seized by God, by his Spirit (*ruah*) and Word (*millah*, *logos*). Visions given to the prophet by God, and voices heard by him in his own heart, find expression on his lips, thus translating them to express the word of God. At this stage, the prophet is the speaker and not God. Old Testament scholars give two such cases, the case of David the King (2 Sam [2 Kgs] 23.1ff.) and the case of the Balaam oracles (Num 24.4,15; cf. Prov 30.1).

This pictorial revelation, through signs and visions, does not disappear completely, for even in the classical age of the writing of the prophets it is still known as containing the revelation of the Word of God. The visions related to the call of *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel*, for example, present images through which the word of God is announced.

A second stage of the Old Testament prophesy is that of a combined sign and word given to the prophet by God. The voice that the prophet perceives in himself is not revealed any more as his own voice (*neum david*) in 2 Sam 23.1, but the voice of God himself (*neum Jahweh*). The original whispering in *neum* that could not be regarded as articulate speech, is now developed with increasing clarity and energy in the (*dabar Jahweh*).

In the case of interconnection of image and word, the word of God, *dabar* is the background and meaning of the sign (see Amos 8.2, and Jer 1.11ff.). However, the word does not have to be combined with an image. Instead, it can be received as a voice, the voice of God speaking directly to the prophet.

In the history of Old Testament prophesy, the *dabar* increasingly

²²Ibid. p. 93.

freed itself from the image and sign and became a pure expression of divine revelation. The prophet realized that God himself was speaking to him from within. God prepares him to receive his message, which the prophet expresses through his own means of expression as a divine message and God's word. The process is very beautifully described in the case of Samuel (1 Sam 3.1ff.).

From the days of Samuel, God's word is a decisive force in the history of Israel. The word of God is given to David the king through Nathan the prophet (2 Sam 7.4), and it is given to Elijah (1 Kgs 17.2,8). The word of God plays a constructive historical part in the parade of events, it is fulfilled; it comes to pass, and it stands forever without any cooperation on man's part. The Word of God expresses God's mystery, and its content is irresistible (2 Kgs 1.17; 9.36; Is 9.7; 53.10ff.)²³

Finally in the books of the writing prophets, the transition is made to the final view regarding Old Testament prophesy and the inspiration of the entire Old Testament, as representing the word of God. The books of the writing prophets are often opened by the statement: The Word of God that was revealed to Hosea (*debar-Jahweh asher haya el hoshea*) (see Hos 1.1; Mic 1.1; Zeph 1.1; Mal 1.1). It is on this basis that the books of the Old Testament were collected, that is, as representing the Word of God revealed to man. Besides *dabar*, which was a dynamic, creative, and, at times, destructive element (see Is 9.7, for example) *Torah* is also part of divine revelation (see Is 1.10; 2.3; 30.9; 12; Jer 18.18). This *Torah*, God's teaching, is originally conceived as the doctrine of God mediated by the priest.

Jeremiah offers the most theological understanding of the word of God, with his speculations on that word, which is entrusted to the prophet rather than to the priest. Jeremiah is committed to the dynamic content of the word of God. He feels compelled to preach God's word, which is the joy and the delight of his heart (15.16). Inwardly aflame with the word of God, he feels that he will perish if he does not speak. Jeremiah has to preach God's word for his own soul's salvation.

Whereas Jeremiah's wrestling with the Word of God is a matter of personal destiny, Deutero-Isaiah sees the Word of God in a different light: for Deutero-Isaiah *debar Jahweh* is a historical force. Deutero-Isaiah also stresses the dynamic aspect of God's Word. Nature may pass away, but the Word of Jahweh endures forever (Is 40.8).

²³Ibid. p. 96.

God's word carries its fulfilment in itself. As rain and snow always produce results in terms of soaking the earth and making seeds sprout, so the Word of Jahweh cannot return to heaven unless it accomplishes its mission (Is 55.10ff.).

Revelation of the Law

Debar Yahweh applies to prophesy, but also to *Torah*, the teachings of God, or the Law of God. Whereas prophesy establishes a personal and moral relationship between God and the prophet, the revelation of the Law, more frequently called the *debarim* of God, is a revelation for all. As we can see in Jeremiah, "the legal *dabar* is valid for the whole people in every age quite independently of the prophetic recipient."²⁴

The best examples of the "legal *dabar*" are, first, the Decalogue, which is called *asereth hadebarim*, in Exodus 34.28 (cf. Deuteronomy 4.13; 10.4); second, the Book of the Covenant (Exodus 20.23—chapter 23), read by Moses on the making of the covenant to which the chosen people pledged itself, and which is also called *debarim* of God; and third, Deuteronomy, the *sepher haberith* in 2 Kings 23.2ff., 21, whose purpose is to proclaim as Moses' testament the divine words he received on the Mount of God (*elleh hadebarim*), in Deuteronomy 1.1.

The Divine Word of Creation and Poetry

In the post-exilic times, the Pentateuch and the Prophets were put together to represent the One Word of God as a single whole. Both the legal and the prophetic Word of God reveal the will of God contained in them. A third sphere of revelation besides the legal and the prophetic, is that of the creation of nature, which is everywhere attributed to the Word of God.

Finally, in the Old Testament poetry, revelation is affected by the Word of God (Job 4.12), as creation is also the result of the creative power of the *dabar* of God (Ps 33). *Dabar* in poetry (Psalms) keeps its double character: prophetic and legal. Besides containing revelation, it keeps both of its elements: dianoetic and dynamic.

Where does this Old Testament logos doctrine lead us, in terms of the New Testament, and especially the Johannine logos doctrine?

The dynamic content given to the Word of God, besides the

²⁴Ibid. p. 98.

dianoetic content, certainly makes a great difference in comparison with the Greek logos doctrine. The Old Testament doctrine is certainly on the way toward a doctrine of the word of God which presents this word as reflecting not only the will of God, but also his essence. It is certainly the predecessor of the Christian doctrine, as we have it in the Johannine Logos doctrine, and especially the prologue of the Fourth Gospel. God spoke to the prophets and the fathers in various ways throughout the Old Testament salvation history. He finally spoke through and in his own Son, his Logos who became flesh in order for him to fully reveal to us God the Father, according to the favored expression of the Greek Fathers.

The creative word of God through whom God creates the world; the efficient word of God who achieves what he announces; the irresistible word of God that compelled the prophets to action, is not a mere energy of God, which only partially reveals the Father. Instead, he is the one who is always with God, being everything that God the Father is, however distinct from the Father.

The Wisdom literature, omitted by Kittel and other Protestant scholars in their otherwise outstanding scholarly work, gives us more insights and even more striking parallels which go in the direction of Saint John's doctrine. In the Wisdom literature, the Word of God is described as a creative principle, that which preserves the world, the one which is the source of life, the νοῦς (mind) that governs and directs history, the salvation of men, and the one which punishes God's enemies.²⁵ This logos proceeding from God's essence (Is 44.26, Lam 2.17), is eternal, infallible, almighty, and self-sufficient; however, this word of God in the Old Testament doctrine is never personified.

In the *Targoumim* (commentators) of the Old Testament, we also find an anthropomorphic expression regarding the word of God: namely, the word of God is identified with the *memra Jahweh*, that is God's thought and will (or thought-will), which is ultimately identified with God. However, this word of God is not an intermediate being between God and the world, as is at times the case in Greek philosophy and religion. This word of God is the poetically hypostatized thought-will of God, which is not a divine hypostasis.

One can say as much of the hypostatized Wisdom of God, as we find it in Proverbs (3.19; 8.1-21; 9.1-9), in Ecclesiasticus (2.3,9; 7.20; 9.16), and in Wisdom of Solomon (7.22,23-chapter 8).

²⁵See OHE, p. 341.

It is only in the New Testament doctrine, based upon the experience of the Word of God becoming flesh, that we can find the revelation of the true nature of the logos of God, gradually reaching its apex in the Fourth Gospel.

THE NEW TESTAMENT LOGOS DOCTRINE

The New Testament places its emphasis on hearing (ἀκούω). This hearing presupposes a preceeding speaking. The φωνή of God that accompanies some events in the life of Christ, such as his baptism and his transfiguration, is not just an accompanying phenomenon; it gives the event its theme and content.

As one reviews the various usages of the word (λόγος) in the New Testament, one realizes that the whole gamut of meanings is given to this word, beginning with the more negative to the most positive ones. At times no judgment is given regarding the content of the word. At all times, the word has something to say whether negative or positive.

The most profound meaning of the word is that of the word of God. The word is never an independent entity. It is spoken by a person. Its authority depends on the person who speaks. For the word points out towards the person that speaks it. What makes the distinctiveness of the New Testament logos statements is their relation to the one who speaks them, God himself, of God in Jesus.

It is true that throughout the New Testament Jesus calls upon his own authority: but I say to you (Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν). However, what makes these statements of Jesus authoritative is not the calling upon his own authority as such, but “the content which sets aside traditional authorities . . . and the fact that this content is offered through Christ.”²⁶

More Specific Meanings

One group of texts where the word logos is to be found uses the word in the various classical meanings described above. Thus, one may group various New Testament texts under the following specific categories of logos meaning and content: “reckoning,” “account,” “ground,” “matter,” and “reason why” this is so or happens so.²⁷

²⁶Kittel, p. 103.

²⁷Ibid. pp. 103-05.

Sayings of Jesus

The sayings of Jesus (λόγοι or ῥήματα) are by far more important than any previous category:

a) Quotations: The New Testament gives an ample amount of quotations of these sayings, especially in the Synoptic Gospels. Collections of these sayings of Jesus were preceded by the apostolic witness. The Gospels are the authoritative collection of these sayings.

b) Authority: As for the authority of these sayings of Jesus, this authority is based upon the kind of person that Jesus is: His authority is not that of the rabbis, but that of the Son of God.

What was said of the word of God in the Old Testament also applies to the word of Jesus: "heaven and earth will pass away; but my words will not pass away" (Mk 13.31).

As it is with his acts, Jesus' word also demands faith in the one whom God sent. This is nothing else but the heart of the Word of God according to the Synoptic tradition (Mt 8.9ff.; Lk 5.5).

The Synoptic tradition is taken up by John. Receiving or rejecting the words of Jesus is a matter of life or death: receiving or rejecting the word makes one worthy of eternal life or eternal judgment and damnation.²⁸ For the word of Jesus is equivalent to that of scripture (γραφή): "they believed in the scripture and in the word spoken by Jesus . . ." (Jn 2.22; 5.47).

However, to believe or not to believe in the Scripture and in the word spoken by Jesus, to know or not to know the secrets of God's Kingdom, is a given (Mt 19.11; Mk 4.11; Lk 18.34; 9.45), which absolves from responsibility and guilt.

c) The Appeal to Words of Jesus Outside the Gospels: It is surprising that outside the gospels the direct quotations of the sayings of Jesus play a less important role that one would expect. However, there are many ways of quoting the Lord's sayings without direct reference to them. In Saint Paul and Saint James we find the example of such quotations, as we do in *Didache*.

Also, it should be noted that there is no evidence of autonomous collections of the words of Jesus (λόγια), as some scholars may suppose. The words of Jesus cannot be separated from his works, and are always seen in a Christological context. They are seen in the light of his crucifixion and resurrection, and his ascension into heaven.

Furthermore, in primitive Christianity, as in post-prophetic

²⁸Ibid. p. 107.

Judaism, the entire Christian message becomes word of God, word of the Lord, or even just simply logos to indicate the revealed message of God spoken in and through his only begotten Son and Word of God, Jesus.

Quotation of the Old Testament as the Word of God

The New Testament refers to the Old Testament either as the Scripture or the word of God. There is a variety of rabbinic formulae that refer to the Old Testament, reflected in a variety of forms of the Greek verb λέγω such as λέγει, φησίν, εἶπεν, λέγων, ἐρρέθη, εἰρημένον and ρηθέν.

It seems that the predominant tenses are two, whether present or perfect, on the basis of the Hebrew *omer-amar*. These tenses are normally used to indicate a past event or statement made in the salvation history, which, however “is just as directly alive and active in the present.”²⁹

In the above traditional formulae no definite subject is given. However, there is also a variety of subjects mentioned, for example: a human subject, Moses, the prophet Isaiah, someone, a superhuman subject, the pre-existent Christ, referred to in a variety of texts besides the prologue of Saint John; finally, God himself, in a variety of ways, such as ὁ Θεὸς εἶπεν τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου (διὰ τοῦ προφήτου) and so on.

In some instances the mention of the divine subject is facilitated by the presence in the quotation of an “I-saying” (Mt 22.31ff.: “I am the God of Abraham . . .”). But the quotations go further by giving God as the author of the entire Old Testament, for it is God who speaks in the Scripture, (and more so according to the Alexandrian view of inspiration). However, the human factor does not disappear, for it is the true subject of what is said. Thus, most of the time the quotation formulae that refer to the human subject are freely interchangeable with those which refer to the divine subject.

The same principle applies to the words of logos or *rhema*. Both aspects of divine inspiration, divine and human, are well emphasized. The Scripture (Old Testament) is both a human word (λόγοι Ἑσαιοῦ, Jn 13.38, Lk 3.4), and also a divine word (λόγος Θεοῦ, Mk 7.13; Jn 10.35; 2 Pet 3.5-7).

When the New Testament quotes the Old Testament, it maintains

²⁹Ibid. p. 109.

original reference to it as *debar-Jahweh*. God spoke in a concrete historical situation. However, in view of the totality of God's revelation, the Old and the New Covenant are combined as the one word of God (Col 1.25; Heb 4.13).

This is the reason that in some instances it is hard to decide if the word of God quoted in the New Testament text is that of the Old Testament or that of the early Christian message (see Heb 4.12: ζῶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐναργής, καὶ τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον," and Eph 6.17: "καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὃ ἐστὶ ῥῆμα Θεοῦ").

The Word of God as Spoken to Individuals

a) Simeon, John the Baptist: The Old Testament formula regarding the word of God specifically given to a man (e.g. 1 Kings 15.10, "ῥῆμα Κυρίου"; 2 Kings 24.11) "λόγος Κυρίου," is very rare in the New Testament. However, we have two specific cases in the New Testament; that of Simeon who received the Messianic promise (Lk 2.29), and that of Saint John the Baptist (Lk 3.2, "ἐγένετο ῥῆμα Θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Ζαχαρίου υἱόν").

b) The Apostolic Period: Besides these two cases, in which the word of God is spoken to individuals, there is no other case in the New Testament where the "word of God" (λόγος Θεοῦ, Κυρίου, ῥῆμα Κυρίου) is used to give special divine directions to special people. These directions are given; however the expressions used for them are different (ἀποκάλυψις, πνεῦμα, φωνή, λόγος προφητείας, οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι).³⁰

The reason for this is that the word of God takes a new and irrevocable meaning for primitive Christianity: it is the word of God finally, definitively and irrevocably spoken once and for all (ἐφάπαξ) in his Son, in what took place in him and in the message concerning it. This Son of God is the historical Jesus of Nazareth, the Lord of the faith, the Word of God made flesh. It is the primitive Christian conviction that the revelation of God in his Son is final (Heb 1.1ff.), and that "a new age has been inaugurated therewith (καινός, καινά)."³¹

c) Jesus of Nazareth: Because of the consciousness in early Christianity that Jesus of Nazareth is the Son of God and the Lord of the

³⁰Ibid. p. 113.

³¹Ibid.

faith, in whom and through whom the last word of God's revelation is given, no reference is made to Jesus as having imparted a "word of God" of any kind, as was the case with the Old Testament prophets.

In two instances, the baptism of Jesus and his transfiguration, a voice is heard from heaven. However, this voice is an attestation of the divine sonship of Christ to the hearers, just in case there is any doubt left in them regarding this divine sonship.

Such phrases as "everything was handed to me by my Father" (πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου) and "he knows the Father" (τὸν πατέρα ἐπιγινώσκει Mt 11.27) set the unity of Jesus with the Father, and also with the word of God, on a completely different basis which goes far beyond isolated impartation.³²

The Early Christian Message as the Word of God (Outside the Johanne Writings)

a) Statistics: The expression "word of God," "word of the Lord," and logos are used by the New Testament corpus (without any differentiation in usage in Paul, Acts or elsewhere), to indicate the complex of New Testament events around Jesus and the message bears witness to this complex.

b) Content: As far as the content of this word of God in the New Testament is concerned, the following remarks should be made:

The content of the word of God preached by the apostles is only one: to witness about Jesus and the word and work of God in him and through him. The disciples were the eye-witnesses of the events that took place in the life of Jesus; they were the eye-witnesses of his miracles, his teachings, his sufferings, death, and resurrection. Their unforsakable task is to be witnesses to all these things, and proclaim Jesus of Nazareth that was put to death as the risen Lord of the faith. This proclamation is made to both the Jews and the Gentiles. For the disciples of Jesus, the word of God is the word about Jesus.

Saint Paul's message is the same: he is called to proclaim the message about Christ. So it is with the late epistles. In one of them the content of God's logos is given in these terms: "that Christ came into the world to save sinners" (ὅτι Χριστὸς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι 1 Tim 1.15).

³²Ibid. p. 114.

The Character and Efficiency of the Early Christian Word/Message

The early Christian message is the message of salvation in Christ, a message about Christ the Savior, the good tidings of God's *magnalia* in Jesus, the Gospel.

Since this message is the word of God, it corresponds to a reality for the one who speaks the word of God. This is why the Gospel is called the Gospel of truth (see 2 Cor 1.18; Eph 1.13; Col 1.5.; 2 Tim 2.15; Jas 1.18).

This word of truth is a given by God (Tit 1.3). Its efficacy depends upon its author who is God; it is also assured by his will (Jas 1.18), and by God's power (Acts 19.20; 2 Col 6.7). It cannot be bound (2 Tim 2.9); and only God can open the door for the word to enter (θύρα τοῦ λόγου Col 4.3).

Being a non-magical entity, the word of God only produces its effects in those who receive it in faith, and are saved and sanctified by it (1 Tim 4.5); whereas the same word is blasphemed by those Christians of an unholy walk and conduct (Tit 2.5). For those who accept the word, this word "does not simply point to grace, salvation and life; it affects salvation and life, for it is grace, salvation and life."³³

b) Relation of Man to the Word: We have already indicated that the word of God is relational or, to use the expression coined recently by an Orthodox theologian, it is a "relational entity." Being God's word, God speaks, and man hears.

Man is passive at the beginning: the term "birth" and "rebirth" gives this message (see Jas 1.8: βουληθεῖς ἀπεκύησεν ἡμᾶς λόγῳ ἀληθείας, and 1 Pet 1.23: ἀναγεγεννημένοι . . . διὰ λόγου . . . τοῦ Θεοῦ).

However, the word of God must be received through faith, and must be acted upon by the hearer, in order for it to achieve its purpose, salvation in Christ.³⁴

c) The Word as Spoken Word: Finally, the word of the early Christian message is a spoken word. It is heard and known, lived and experienced, so that it may also be proclaimed. It was the responsibility of the first Christians to proclaim in faithfulness (ἀσφάλεια) the event that has happened in Jesus "the word of God which has been established by God and spoken in the event" (Lk 1.1-4; cf. Tit 1.9).³⁵

³³Ibid. p. 118.

³⁴Ibid. p. 119.

³⁵Ibid.

The Word in the Synoptic Account of Jesus

The Synoptic Gospels are in direct continuity with the primitive Christian message regarding the word of God and expressed by it. It continues the message and witness about Jesus (see Lk 1.2). Once more, Jesus in the Synoptic account is not called the word of God, which is the contribution of Johannine theology. Neither is there a reference to him as a “prophet,” or a “transmitter” of the word.

There are only four difficult passages to consider, two in Mark (2.2, 4.33), one in the Gospel of Luke (5.1) and one in the Book of Acts (10.36) where it is said that Jesus is a preacher of the word. Jesus preaches the same word as the apostles. However, his vision is not to simply “pass on” the word. The word that Jesus preaches is not the object of mere talking (λαλεῖν). It is a word that is spoken in power, and presented in the works of Jesus as well as in his speech: miraculous healings that accompany it are part of his word, not only spoken, but also enacted (see Mt 11.4).

The Word in the Synoptic Sayings of Jesus

The occurrence of logos in the case of the sayings of Jesus in the Synoptics is minimal. Besides the parable of the Sower, common in all three Synoptics, there are only two passages in Luke where the expression word of God (λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ) occurs. Luke 8.21, which tells us of the relatives of Jesus as being those who “hear God’s word and do it,” is rendered differently by Matthew (3.5) and Mark (12.50). Where Luke says “word of God,” the others say “will of God.” It seems that “word of God” is a Lucan construction; it is possible that the Aramaic substratum used “will of God.” As for Luke 11.28, which is peculiar to Luke, “blessed are those who hear the word of God and keep it” (μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσοντες αὐτόν), it is not clear that Jesus actually used the word and applied it to his own preaching.³⁶

As for the parable of the Sower, present in all three synoptics (Mt 13.18-23; Mk 4.13-20; Lk 8.11-15), the use of the expression “word of God” is in the interpretation section of the parable and in its allegory. It is possible that the Christian community laid the words on the lips of Jesus.³⁷

³⁶Ibid. p. 121.

³⁷Ibid. pp. 121-22.

Word of God in Revelation

In the group of sayings that refer to the content of the Book of Revelation, the phrase "word of God" is not used.³⁸

In two instances, (Revelation 19.9 and 17.7) the phrase (λόγοι Θεοῦ) is used in plural to indicate the promises spoken to the prophets.

In another case (Rev 1.2; 1.9; 6.9), λόγος Θεοῦ is paralleled with μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ. The two are a tautology; the word of God is witness about Jesus the Christ. This statement is in perfect continuity with the logos doctrine of primitive Christianity.

The only problematic passage is Revelation 19.13: "and his name is called the logos of God" (κέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ). However, this statement cannot be seen apart from the total New Testament picture. It belongs to the series of primitive Christian logos sayings, and is a part of the primitive Christian view of Christ.

Jesus Christ, the Logos of God

We have established that in primitive Christianity there is an awareness reflected in the use of the term logos, that preaching of what has taken place in the person of Jesus is preaching of the word. Also, reception of the word implies faith in Jesus. The preachers of the word, are not people who simply repeat old sayings (*tannaïtes*), but then are eye-witnesses of those saving events—Christ's death and Resurrection—that have taken place.

The point of the Sower parable of the Synoptics is that the seed is actually the Christ event which has taken place in Jesus. The word of God is the hidden mystery of Christ made manifest to the saints. Christ is the word of God, which God has spoken to the saints (Col 1.25-27).

It is obvious that the New Testament word theology is in continuity with the Old Testament, when it does not rest the logos statements on a "concept" of the word. The word is not a concept, but an event, which is given in the person of Jesus the Christ. In him, God enacted yes to man's salvation (2 Cor 1.19). He is the word yes in his historical person. According to Revelation 3.14, he is the word Amen (τάδε λέγει ὁ Ἀμήν). The promises of God regarding man's salvation are decisively realized in him. This is the meaning of Revelation 19.13: "Whose name is the Word of God," a "succinct expression

³⁸Ibid. p. 123.

to something present in the whole outlook and utterance of the primitive church.”³⁹

The historical person of Jesus is the only one who can meet the qualification of “Word of God.” He is the only one to teach with authority, for “His authoritative word is the word of one who knows that the fully authority of God is present in his person Mt 9.1ff.).”⁴⁰ Jesus is not just the one who brings the word, but the one who incorporates it in his person, in the historical process of his speech and action, of his life and being.”⁴¹ It is this Word who is “King of Kings and Lord of Lords” (Rev 19.16). As the Word of God, he is witness and bears witness, even the “faithful witness” (ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός: Rev 1.5; 3.14), who came to “bear witness” (Jn 1.7) and explain the Father (Jn 1.18). He is the word of God spoken by God.

The Word of God Spoken by God in 1 John 1.1ff.

By now we have enough historical background to appreciate and understand the statement made in 1 Jn 1.1 ff., regarding the Logos/ Word of God. He is the Logos of Life who became manifest, whom we touched and saw: He is the Christ event in the historical figure of Jesus.

The words used are those known from primitive Christianity: witness and announce (μαρτυροῦμεν καὶ ἀπαγγέλλομεν) (Acts 6.4; 1.22); λόγος ζωῆς is parallel to ῥήματα ζωῆς (Acts 5.20).

It is to be noted that the equation of Logos with Jesus in 1 Jn 1.1 is still dynamic. There is no personification whether conceptually or “mythically,” a danger not avoided by some of the trinitarian heresies later in history.

The whole statement in 1 Jn 1.1ff. is in continuity with other New Testament statements concerning the word. However, there are two new elements added which make this text comparable to the prologue of the Fourth Gospel: “ὃ ἦν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς” (verse 1), and “ἥτις ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα” (verse 2).

The Distinctiveness of the Logos Saying in John 1.1

We are now ready for the most important logos theology text, the prologue of Saint John’s Gospel. The use of logos in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel is absolutely unique, even in terms of

³⁹Ibid. p. 125.

⁴⁰Ibid. p. 124.

⁴¹Ibid.

the rest of the Gospel.

All the other uses of logos are in continuity with the primitive Christian tradition, as established above.⁴² In the prologue, the Fourth Gospel breaks with the Synoptic tradition that hesitated to apply the word Logos to Jesus' teachings, in order to avoid making Jesus a mere transmitter of the message at the same level with the Apostles. However, in the Fourth Gospel, and especially its parting discourses, it is clear that this is no longer a problem: Jesus speaks, and refers to his doctrine with "I have said unto you," and also speaks of his mission. The unity of action and speech is established once and for all in the prologue, with the proclamation of Jesus as the pre-existent, eternal word of God who became flesh.

The point of transition, making the Fourth Gospel (which is in agreement with the prologue statement on the Logos) unique, is verse 1.14: "the word became flesh" (ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο). This is only implied in 1 Jn 1.1.ff., whereas it is clearly enunciated here: Jesus, in his historical person, is the Word of God: Jesus is not partially, but unconditionally identified with the eternal word of God, a word who entered our history, became incarnate, became flesh (σὰρξ).

The essential point of the prologue is that (as in 1 Jn 1.1.ff.) the logos is the pre-existent Christ, and that (as distinct from 1 Jn 1.1.ff.) the true theme of the Gospel is the transition of logos from pre-existence to history. The theme of the pre-existence of logos underlies the entire Fourth Gospel. It should be noted that the theme of the pre-existence of Christ is not unique to the Fourth Gospel. Saint Paul, for example, dealt with the topic on many occasions (especially Phil 2.1ff., Col 1.12ff.). What makes the Fourth Gospel unique is that its Christology is well stated at the beginning (prologue), and that its Christological doctrine is grouped under the catchword the Logos.

Interest and Derivation of the Logos Sayings in the Prologue of John

a) The Lack of Speculative Concern: The Logos statement in the Johannine prologue is not a speculative one, in spite of the appearances: the statement was not derived from a speculation on the pre-existence of logos, but from seeing, contemplating (θεᾶσθαι) his glory (δόξα) in the historical figure of Jesus.

For the same reason, it is wrong to speak of personification of logos in Jn 1.1, 14, if by this "personification" is understood the

⁴²Ibid. p. 128.

non-biblical interest in a “world of reason or a semi-divine intermediate being, the Logos, . . . which . . . entered one day into the person of an earthly man.”⁴³

b) The Allusion to Genesis 1.1: There is an obvious allusion to Genesis 1.1, in the ἐν ἀρχῇ statement regarding logos: it reminds us of “the beginning” (*bereshith*) of God’s creation. God spoke in the historical person of Jesus of Nazareth, the eternal and pre-existing Word of God who became flesh. It is only logical to identify the historical figure of Jesus—the word of God—with the word of the divine Creator.

A new element introduced by the prologue of John as compared with Genesis is that the word of God who is always by God and who proceeds from God without being detached from him, is a distinct person, or, better, a hypostasis, with regard to God. Once more, this is not the result of a speculative concern of the evangelist: he contemplates God’s glory in a person, the incarnate Son of God, Jesus of Nazareth, in whom the word took place (σὰρξ ἐγένετο).

c) Logos and Torah: Scholars looked for other connections between the prologue of John and its environment: four concepts were brought to be compared with that of Johannine Logos: the Hellenistic Gnostic Logos; the oriental Gnostic man; the Hellenistic Jewish *hochmah* (σοφία) and the Palestinian Jewish Torah. There is certainly parallelism with all these concepts, but no real connection with the Johannine Logos, for the reasons stated above.

Regarding the last one, the rabbinic Torah, there is a direct reference in the prologue: “The Law (Torah) was given by Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ” (Jn 1.14). The contrast is obvious: Torah was passed on by Moses. The content of the revelation given by Jesus, and that which replaces the law of Moses is “grace and truth.”

As a parallel to the Καινὴ Διαθήκη of the Lord’s supper, one might speak of Καὶνός Νόμος, with reference to the word of God which has gone forth and become an event, flesh, and history, in his divine person.⁴⁴

* * *

⁴³Ibid. p. 131.

⁴⁴Ibid. p. 136.

The Logos doctrine, as delineated above, and culminating in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel, has profoundly left its mark on Eastern Christianity. It permeates its entire liturgical life, with meaningful liturgical statements regarding the eternal Logos of God, who manifests “all of the Father in himself” (ὅλον ἐν ἑαυτῷ δεικνὺς τὸν Πατέρα).

The Logos doctrine, doubled with that of the “image of the invisible God,” became the basis of the refutation of Gnosticism by Saint Irenaios, Arianism and tritheism by Saint Athanasios and the Cappadocian Fathers. It holds a special place in the systematic speculations of the Christian doctrine regarding Christology throughout the ages.

Since the Logos doctrine is also present in the Qur’ān, one may hope that it can be considered to be one of the elements that we Christians and Muslims may cherish together as a common patrimony, at least to a certain extent. But even if and when do we decide to differ, let us hope that we do in the mutual respect of one another’s convictions. We commend ourselves and one another to the common Father in heaven, praying to him that his divine Word may always have the last word.

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What an Infidel Saw that a Faithful Did Not: Gregory Dekapolites (d. 842) and Islam

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IN HIS PRESENTATION Professor Haddad spoke about the cultural unity of Islam and Eastern Orthodox Christianity, as well as of the mutuality of questions and answers given by men of faith in the two religious traditions. Professor Nasr spoke eloquently about the spiritual affinity of the two traditions as these are manifested in the Şūfī and the monastic traditions respectively. To these two spheres of “dialogue” I want to add the worship and liturgical experience, which the Christian East sees as a vital and dynamic forum in which men of faith can meet in a unique encounter; an experience which they can cultivate as a unique dimension and component of a true inter-faith dialogue.

The particular text I have in mind seems also to combine and reinforce the elements which Professors Haddad and Nasr have presented to us.

In Migne’s *Patrologia Graeca* there is a rather brief “Historical Sermon” attributed to Saint Gregory of Dekapolis, under the long title: “A Historical Sermon by Gregory Dekapolites; Very Profitable and Most Pleasing in Many Ways, About a Vision Which a Sarracen Once Had, and Who, As a Result of This, Believed and Became Martyr for Our Lord Jesus Christ.”¹ Ferdinandus Cavallera has indexed this sermon under the patristic and Byzantine polemic literature against Islam.² However, modern scholars of the Byzantine anti-Islamic

¹PG 100.1201-12.

²Ibid. 162.129.

literature have bypassed it.³ Strictly speaking, this is an hagiological text which describes the conversion of a Muslim prince to Christianity, indeed to monastic life, and his subsequent death as a martyr of the Christian faith. The Muslim convert after his conversion to Christianity and his entrance into the monastic order assumed the name Pachomios, a common name among monks in the Christian East, after the founder of the cenobitic monasticism.

An introductory invocation ("Father, give your blessing") and a supplicatory ending ("With the prayers of the most blessed martyr and of the all-pure Mother of God Mary who is ever-virgin, and of all the saints, for the remission of our sins. Amen.") betray a text which has survived as a lection, usually read during meals in the refectories of cenobitic monasteries in the Orthodox world.

However, beyond the exact purpose and character of the narrative and even if this was not the intention of its writer, the story has succeeded in providing us with insights and information about Muslim-Christian relations in the eight/ninth century.

The author of this sermon, as the title indicates, is Gregory Dekapolites. Information about Gregory we obtain mainly from a *Life* composed by Ignatios (b. ca. 780), "deacon and sacristan of the Great Church of God," that is, of the see of Constantinople, who became later a professor of rhetoric and poetry at the patriarchal school of Hagia Sophia, and from 845, bishop of Nicaea.⁴ Ignatios lived during the second phase of the Iconoclastic controversy (787-843);

³Adel-Théodore Khoury, for example, following H.-G. Beck (*Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* [Munich, 1959], p. 579) suggests simply that "Le récit attribué au Decapolite, outre qu'il appartient au genre hagiographique et donc ne fait pas partie des textes qui nous intéressent directement ici, doit être daté du XVe siècle environ" *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam. Textes et auteurs (VIIIe-XIIIe S.)* (Louvain, 1969) p. 46. While the text is definitely hagiological, it is not, because of this, irrelevant to Muslim-Christian relations. The assumption also that it dates from the fourteenth century can easily be questioned, on the basis of a number of internal indications, as the subsequent analysis of the text will show.

⁴F. Dvornik, *La vie de saint Grégoire le Decapolite et les Slaves Macédoniens au IXe siècle* (Travaux publiés par l'Institut d'études slaves No. 5, Paris, 1926); Greek text of the *Life*, pp. 45-75. Dvornik has edited the *Life* from eight manuscripts, three of them of the twelfth, one of the thirteenth, two of the fourteenth, one of the sixteenth and one of the seventeenth century!

other iconophile personalities,⁵ his own teacher Tarasios, patriarch of Constantinople from 784 to 806⁶ and Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople from 806 to 815.⁷ Ignatios' choice to write the *Lives* of these three men betrays his sympathy towards the moderate iconophiles, rather than the more "intransigent" monks of the monastery of Studios in Constantinople. The latter advocated a total segregation between Church and State, and opposed hesychastically inclined monks such as Gregory.⁸

Gregory was born in Irenopolis, one of the ten cities (*deka poleis*) which composed the complex of Dekapolis of Isauria in Interior Syria and Jordan.⁹ Thence his surname Dekapolites. He was born between 780-790¹⁰ and possibly later.¹¹ The only firm date of his life is that of his death on 20 November 842.¹² Early in his life Gregory left home for the ascetic and contemplative life of the monastery. After a number of years, spent either in monasteries or in solitude as a hermit, he felt the need to embark on a missionary expedition, defending the iconophiles and the veneration of icons, and healing people. His long travels took him to Ephesos, Prokonessos, Ainos, Christopolis (Kavala), Thessalonike, Corinth, Region, Neapolis, Rome, Syracuse,

⁵I. E. Karagiannopoulos, *Πηγαὶ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Ἱστορίας*, 4th ed. (Thessalonike, 1978), pp. 228-29.

⁶I. A. Heikel, ed. *Ignatii diaconi Vita Tarasii archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani*. Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, 17 (Helsingfors, 1891); also, PG 98.1385-1424.

⁷Carolus de Boor, *Nicephori opuscula historica* (Leipzig, 1889); PG 100.41-160.

⁸Cf. Dvornik, *La Vie*, p. 17ff.

⁹The other nine cities were Germanicopolis, Titiopolis, Dometiopolis, Zenopolis, Neapolis, Claudiopolis, Caesarea, Lauzados and Dalisandis. Constantine Porphyrogenitos, *De thematibus libri duo* (ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1840), 1, p. 36.

¹⁰H. G. (Henri Grégoire) in his review of Dvornik's *La vie*, in *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 642.

¹¹The *Life* states that Gregory died "at a mature age as far as the spiritual and perfect exercise is concerned." Dvornik, *La vie*, p. 72, l.10-11. This wording may imply that he died at a relatively young physical age. Indeed, according to the *Life*, Gregory died after a serious and painful disease. Ibid. p. 70, l.12-16.

¹²This specific date is stated in the *Life* of Joseph the hymnographer [H. G. in *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 643], and corroborated by the evidence in Gregory's *Life*. Dvornik, *La vie*, p. 72; l.9

Otranto, Thessalonike again, and Constantinople. Gregory's public life coincides with the reign of Emperor Theophilos (829-842) during which time Iconoclasm was raging again.

The *Life* of Gregory Dekapolites is an hagiological account, embellished with numerous miraculous acts, something which reflects mainly the interests of its author, Ignatios. Nevertheless, it constitutes a source of information on the state of Iconoclasm during its second phase (787-843), and on the Slavs in the area of Thessalonike. Some Byzantine-Arab relations are mentioned only marginally. Actually the *Life* mentions only one incident involving Muslim Arabs: Gregory, as he was leaving Otranto, Italy, encountered a unit of Saracen soldiers. When one of them raised his hand to kill Gregory with a spear, the soldier's hand instantly became stiff. Gregory healed his offender by touching the former's afflicted hand.¹³ Yet, the entire *Sermon* attributed to Gregory—possibly his only extant writing—is an account of a Muslim-Christian encounter. Ignatios mentions no writings by Gregory Dekapolites, not even this historical sermon which explicitly bears his name. However this omission, by itself, ought not to be taken as sufficient proof that the writing is not by Gregory Dekapolites.

The *Sermon* is based on a story which, as the text claims, was related to Gregory by a certain *strategos*¹⁴ Nicholas. The incident took place in the *strategos*' own town of Al-Kurūm¹⁵ in the Thebaid, lower Egypt. Here is the text:

A HISTORICAL SPEECH OF GREGORY DEKAPOLITES, VERY PROFITABLE AND MOST PLEASING IN MANY WAYS, ABOUT A VISION WHICH A SARRACEN ONCE HAD, AND WHO, AS A RESULT OF THIS, BELIEVED AND BECAME A MARTYR FOR OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

[1201A] Father, give your blessing.

Nicholas the *strategos*, called Joulas, has related to me that in

¹³Dvornik, *La vie*, p. 58; l.15-9.

¹⁴A Byzantine high military official in charge of administration of a *thema*, or large territory or province.

¹⁵The Arabic name of the town means "vineyard," and Gregory has translated it in Greek as *Ampelos*.

his town, which the Sarracens¹⁶ call in their language "Vineyard", the Emir¹⁷ of Syria sent his nephew to administer some works

¹⁶The name "Sarracen" (actually, Saracen) is used here meaning "Muslim." It occurs frequently in Byzantine literature. Philip K. Hitti has suggested that the name derives from the Arabic *sharq* and *sharqīyūn* (East, and Easterners) and refers to the land and the tribes east of Palestine (*History of the Arabs* [10th ed., New York, 1973, p. 43.]). Other evidence, which I am presently examining, suggest that the use of the name "Saracen" contained also derogatory connotations, for Easterners, who were living far away from the main centers of civilization and who were led astray from accepted religious beliefs and practices. After the emergence of Islam the name "Saracen" in the Byzantine anti-Islamic literature was used with the meaning of "Muslim." John of Damascus is perhaps the earliest Byzantine writer who attempted to give an etymological explanation, and a polemic one, to the name. Such an explanation required a change in the spelling from Saracen to Sarracen. John of Damascus suggested that "Sarracen" derives from the name Sarrah and the adjective *κενός* (empty) and as such it applies to "those who were expelled by Sarah empty," without grace; that is to the *illegitimate* sons of Abraham. A synonym for Sarracens used by Muslims according to John of Damascus, is the name Hagarenes (the sons of Hagar, Abraham's concubine, rather than a legitimate wife) and Ishmaelites (the descendants of Ishmael, the illegitimate son of Abraham)! John of Damascus, *On the Heresies*, in *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, P. Bonifatius Kotter (Berlin, 1981), 4, p. 60. See also Daniel, J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam, the "Heresy of the Ishmaelites"* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 70-71. V. Christides has missed all this evidence when he concludes that "a Byzantine explanation of the origin of Saracen which has escaped the attention of modern scholars is found in the writings of the fifteenth-century Byzantine author Georgios Phrantzes who asserts that the Arabs were called *Sarakenoi* because they were sent out by Sarah devoid of inheritance and empty-handed"; see "The names Ἀραβες, Σαρακηνοί etc. and their false Byzantine etymologies," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 65 (1972) 329-33, at 331.

¹⁷The word used here is Ἀμειρουμνής, an obvious Hellenization of the Arabic title *Amīr al-mu'minīn*, "Ruler of the Faithful". The first to assume this title was 'Umar, the second caliph (634-644). Other Umayyad and subsequently Abbasid caliphs followed his example, as did some rival smaller rulers. The title was assumed more frequently by rulers in the West. Since the text specifically calls this *amīr al-mu'minīn* "Emir of Syria," the reference must be to one of the Umayyad caliphs ruling from Damascus from 661 to 750. The Hellenized title Ἀμειρουμνής occurs also in the writing of Arethas of Caesarea (850-932): "To the Emir in Damascus at the request of Romanos the Emperor"; *Arethae Archiepiscopi Caesariensis. Scripta Minora*, ed. L. G. Westerink (Leipzig, 1968), 1, p. 242. On Arethas, see Daniel J. Sahas "Arethas's 'Letter to the Emir at Damascus': Official or popular views on Islam in the 10th century Byzantium?" *The Patristic and Byzantine Review* 3 (1984) 69-81.

under construction in the said castle. In that place there is also a big church, old and splendid, dedicated to Saint, the most glorious martyr, George.¹⁸ When the Sarracen saw the church from a distance he ordered his servants to bring his belongings and the camels themselves, twelve of them, inside the church so that he may be able to supervise them from a high place as they were fed.¹⁹

[1201B] As for the priests of that venerable church, they pleaded with him saying: "Master, do not do such things; this is a church of God. Do not show disrespect towards it and do not bring the camels inside the holy altar of God." But the Sarracen, who was pitiless and stubborn, did not want even to listen to the pleas of the presbyters. Instead he said to his servants, in Arabic: "Do you not do what you have been commanded to do?" Immediately his servants did as he commanded them. But suddenly the camels, as they were led into the church, all, by the command of God, fell down

¹⁸The affection of Muslims for Saint George is very interesting, although not yet thoroughly explained. The Muslim Arabs of the Middle East, especially those who have lived in co-existence with Orthodox Christians, have shown a remarkable reverence for Saint George, the military saint, who is depicted riding a horse and killing the dragon. Perhaps the link between the Muslims and Saint George is Abyssinian Christianity. This pre-Chalcedonian Coptic Church with its many Jewish and Semitic practices (arks, circumcision, observance of the Sabbath, claims of its emperors as being "sons of David and Solomon," etc.) respects Saint George as its patron saint. Ancient texts indicate that the Ethiopians were partly under Mosaic law and in part they worshiped the Serpent. No wonder, therefore, that Saint George is a patron saint of Ethiopia; Ninian Smart, *The Phenomenon of Christianity* (London, 1979), p. 60. The encounter of Islam with Abyssinia goes back to the time of Muhammad himself. *The Life of Muhammad* (A translation of Ishāq's *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, by A. Guillaume [Oxford, 1969]), pp. 146-55. Heroes who defeat superhuman creatures and evil powers seem to have attracted people of various cultures and religious traditions. There is such a hero also in Islam, Abū Zayd, known as Bu Zīd il-Hilālī in Zafar and North Arabia. The Muslim fascination with him is because he defeated a huge monster, plaguing the country, whom no one else had managed to contain. For the text of this story with an introduction and commentary, see T. M. Johnstone, "A St. George of Dhofar" *Arabian Studies*, 5 (1978) 59-65.

¹⁹The description suggests that the church, being big and splendid, had a balcony usually reserved for women, which the Emir occupied for his private quarters, while he had planned to use the nave as a stable for the camels.

dead.²⁰ When the Sarracen saw the extraordinary miracle he became ecstatic²¹ and ordered his servants to take away the dead camels and throw them away from the church; and they did so.

[1201C] As it was a holiday on that day and the time for the Divine Liturgy was approaching, the priest who was to start the holy service of the preparation of the gifts was very much afraid of the Sarracen; how could he start the bloodless sacrifice in front of him! Another priest, co-communicant to him, said to the priest who was to celebrate the Liturgy: "Do not be afraid. Did you not see the extraordinary miracle? Why are you hesitant?" Thus the said priest, without fear, started the holy service of offering.²²

The Sarracen noticed all these and waited to see what the priest

²⁰Theophanes the Chronographer (d. 818) mentions a similar case in which "the camels of the chief minister were burned in the church of Saint Elijah; *Chronographia*, ed. De Boor, I, 404.14-15. This incident reportedly took place in Caesarea, Cappadocia in the second year of Hisham's reign, i.e. in 726. Do these similar reports by two independent sources suggest a usual Muslim practice? They perhaps suggest a more hostile attitude toward and treatment of the Christians by the Muslims, uncharacteristic of the earliest Umayyad caliphs. Hishām was the son of 'Abd-al-Malik (684-705), the caliph who initiated hostile measures against the Christians under his rule.

²¹The expression "to become, or be ecstatic" occurs frequently and characteristically in this text. It is an expression of a mystical disposition, rather than of an ordinary way of speaking. "Ecstasy," etymologically speaking, is the state of being in which a person is removed from (ἐκ) the place on which one "stands" (στέσις), to a different state, or "world." It is the state of being transcendent from the empirical world to a higher level of consciousness and spirituality. Ecstasy is the state which a mystic strives to attain in his process towards a union with God. Frequency of such expressions and the theme itself of the sermon, which is about a vision, manifest clearly the mystical character of the text. Ecstasy and "ecstatic utterances" (*shaṭḥiyāt*) are also ingredients of Islamic mysticism, documented and defended by the theorists of Sufism. See, for example, the *Kitāb al-Luma'* of *Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj* (d. 988); A. J. Arberry, *Sufism: An Account of the Mystics of Islam* (New York, 1970), p. 67.

²²This service is called προσκομιδὴ literally meaning "offering" of the gifts. It is the service prior to the divine Liturgy itself and to the communion service, during which the gifts for the communion are received and prepared. The rites of the προσκομιδὴ commemorate the nativity of Christ, "who, from the first moment of his incarnation, was the Lamb destined to be sacrificed for the sons of men"; D. Sokolof, *A Manual of the Orthodox Church's Divine Services* (Jordanville, N.Y., 1962), p. 62. The subsequent vision of the Saracen seems to support this meaning of the προσκομιδὴ.

The Sarracen noticed all these and waited to see what the priest [1204A] was going to do. The priest began the holy service of offering and took the loaf of bread to prepare the holy sacrifice. But the Sarracen saw that the priest took in his hand a child which he slaughtered, drained the blood inside the cup, cut the body into pieces and placed them on the tray!²³

As the Sarracen saw these things he became furious with anger and, enraged at the priest, he wanted to kill him. When the time of the Great Entrance approached, the Sarracen saw again, and more manifestly, the child cut into four pieces on the tray, his blood in the cup. He became again ecstatic with rage. Towards the end of the Divine Liturgy, as some of the Christians wanted to receive [1204B] the holy communion and as the priest said, "With the fear of God and with faith draw near,"²⁴ all the Christians bent their

²³The priest extracts from a loaf of bread small pieces and particles. These various pieces represent Christ himself, the Theotokos, the angels, the apostles, the martyrs, the saints, the living members of the Church and those who have passed away. These pieces of bread are subsequently mixed in the chalice with the wine, consecrated during the Liturgy and offered as communion. Thus, communion in the Orthodox Church is a sacrament of an existential union between each individual and the entire Church, visible and invisible, past and present, within the body of Christ.

The προσκομιδή rites commemorate the Nativity. See note above. The eucharistic service also, in spite of its predominant paschal character, is closely related to the Nativity as well. John Chrysostom, the modifier of the Divine Liturgy, which is the most often celebrated one in the Orthodox Church, has identified frequently the altar with a spiritual cradle, and the Eucharist with a memorial of Christ's passion but also with his infancy; thus, the existence of a number of parallel edifying anecdotes and sermons such as this, presenting Christ as an infant being sacrificed physically in the place of elements. For such references, see Christopher Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London, 1982), pp. 209-10.

The tradition of the Christ child standing out from inside the chalice, before dismemberment, surrounded by angels and the Fathers-authors of the Divine Liturgy, has been preserved by the iconography in the theme of *Melismos* (literally, dismemberment). Such an icon can be seen, for example, in a fresco in the niche of the sanctuary in the abbot's tower at the Monastery of Saint Panteleimon in Thessaly, Greece. See John T. A. Koumoulides, *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments at Aghia in Thessaly, Greece: The Art and Architecture of the Monastery of Saint Panteleimon* (London, 1975), pp. 35 and 36, fig. 15 and 15a.

²⁴The full liturgical invitation to receive communion is: "With the fear of God, with faith, and with love, draw near."

heads in reverence. Some of them went forward to receive the holy sacrament. Again, for a third time, the Sarracen saw that the priest, with a spoon, was offering to the communicants from the body and the blood of the child. The repentant Christians received the holy sacrament. But the Sarracen saw that they had received communion from the body and the blood of the child, and at that he became filled with anger and rage against everybody.

At the end of the Divine Liturgy the priest distributed the antidoron, to all Christians.²⁵ He then took off his priestly vestments and offered to the Sarracen a piece from the bread.²⁶ But he said, [1204C] in Arabic: "What is this?" The priest answered: "Master, it is from the bread from which we celebrated the liturgy." And the Sarracen said angrily: "Did you celebrate the Liturgy from that, you dog, impure, dirty, and killer? Didn't I see that you took and slaughtered a child, and that you poured his blood into the cup, and mutilated his body and placed on the plate members of his, here and there? Didn't I see all these, you polluted one and killer? Didn't I see you eating and drinking from the body and blood of the child, and that you even offered the same to the attendants? They now have in their mouths pieces of flesh dripping blood."

When the priest heard this he became ecstatic and said: "Master, [1204D] I am a sinner and I am not able to see such a mystery. But since your Lordship saw such a mystery I believe in God that you, indeed, are a great man."

And the Sarracen said: "Is this not what I saw?" And the priest: "Yes, my Lord, this is how it is; but myself, being a sinner, I am not able to see such a mystery, but only bread and wine. Indeed, we believe we hold and we sacrifice this bread and wine as a figuration of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus, even

²⁵Ἀντίδωρον means that which is offered "instead of the gift." These are small pieces of bread of the non-consecrated part of the loaf, which the priest distributes, at the end of the Liturgy, to those who for whatever reason did not receive the sacrament. The ἀντίδωρον is not a substitute for the communion, but a pastoral gesture of the Church acknowledging and, in a way, rewarding, the presence of everybody in the celebration of the Eucharist.

²⁶This detail ("he took off his priestly vestments and offered . . .") clarifies the distinction that the Orthodox Church makes between partaking in communion with members of the one Church, and participating in a religious service or prayer with members from different churches; even with people from different religious traditions!

the great and marvelous Fathers, the stars and teachers of the [1205A] Church, like the divine Basil the Great, and the memorable Chrysostom and Gregory the Theologian, were unable to see this awesome and terrifying mystery. How can I see it?"

When the Sarracen heard this he became ecstatic and he ordered his servants and everybody who was inside to leave the church. He then took the priest by the hand and said: "As I see and as I have heard, great is the faith of the Christians. So, if you so will, Father, baptize me." And the priest said to the Sarracen: "Master, we believe in and we confess our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who came to the world for our salvation. We also believe in [1205B] the Holy Trinity, the consubstantial and undivided one, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the one Godhead. We believe also in Mary, the ever-virgin mother of light, who has given birth to the fruit of life, our pre-announced Lord, Jesus Christ. She was virgin before, virgin during, and virgin after giving birth. We believe also that all the holy apostles, prophets, martyrs, saints, and righteous men are servants of God. Do you not realize, therefore, my master, that the greatest faith is that of the Orthodox Christians?"

And the Sarracen said again: "I beg you, Father, baptize me." But the priest answered: "Far from that. I cannot do such a thing; for if I do and your nephew²⁷ the Emir hears of that, he will kill [1205C] me and destroy this church, too.²⁸ But if it is, indeed, your wish to be baptized, go to that place in the Sinai mountain. There, there is the bishop; he will baptize you."²⁹

²⁷At the beginning of the sermon the Sarracen was stated as the nephew of the Emir; PG 100.1201A. See also 1208B and 1208C.

²⁸Regulating the rights and obligations of Christians, whose cities had fallen under Muslim domination, an early ordinance attributed to 'Umar (although in all probability it belongs to the era of 'Umar II, 717-720) explicitly prohibits the conversion of a Muslim to Christianity: "We will not show off our religion, nor invite any one to embrace it."

The same ordinance prohibits even the repair of any old religious institution, let alone the erection of any new church, monastery or hermitage. It prohibits also the display of crosses and sacred books in the streets and market places where Muslims live; the ringing of bells loudly; religious processions on Palm and Easter Sundays and prayers sung in loud voices near Muslim quarters!

²⁹The reference here is, obviously, to the Monastery of the Transfiguration, known as the Monastery of Saint Catherine, in Sinai. This monastery erected as a monastery-fortress during the reign of Justinian (527-565)

The Sarracen prostrated himself in front of the presbyter and walked out of the church. Then, one hour after nightfall, he came back to the priest, took off his royal golden clothes, put on a poor sack of wool,³⁰ and he left in secret by night. He walked to Mount Sinai and there he received the holy baptism from the bishop.

encompassed older hermitages going back to the early fourth century and to Empress Helen, the mother of the first Roman Christian Emperor Constantine (324-337). By a Justinian law (PG 86.1149) respected until today, the abbot of the monastery holds the office of the bishop with the title of "archbishop." The monastery had in its possession also a number of *metochia*, or dependencies. These were scattered throughout the Sinai peninsula, Cairo, Gaza, in various parts of Syria, Crete, the mainland Greece, and possibly in Rumania and Russia. Some of these *metochia* are still in existence and active. The history of the monastery, famous for its wealth in icons, manuscripts (including the Codex Sinaiticus now in the British Museum), and for its long tradition in monastic spirituality, is one of the most fascinating places and examples of Muslim-Eastern Christian relations. Bedouin Muslims are still surrounding the monastery serving as guardians. They hold the authority of the Christian archbishop in high respect, demonstrate their devotion to Christian saints, especially to Saint Catherine and to Saint George, and defend their allegiance to the monastery; a strange type of "citizenship" which remains unaffected by the shifting national borders between Israel and Egypt in recent years! For a brief excursus through the history of the monastery, see K. Amantos, *Σύντομος Ἱστορία τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Σινᾶ* (Thessalonike, 1953); Evangelos Papaioannou, *The Monastery of St. Catherine* (Athens, 1976); George H. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Church and Fortress of Justinian* (Ann Arbor, 1973).

The monks still today show an Arabic manuscript, which they claim to be an ordinance written by Muhammad himself, ordering the Muslims to preserve the inviolability of the monastery.

The words of the priest in this story seem to confirm an early tradition giving immunity to the monastery of Sinai from any interference of the Islamic state.

³⁰This was the characteristic garment of Christian ascetics. One of the explanations given to the name *ṣūfī* for a Muslim mystic is that it is a derivative of the word *ṣūf* (wool). The name *ṣūfī* related to the woollen gown worn by early *ṣūfī* is related to Muslim ascetics influenced by their Christian counterparts. That such a practice was prevalent in early Islam is evident by the debate on the appropriateness of such a gown between two contemporary Muslims. The ascetic Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110/728) justified the woollen gown of the ascetics as an act of imitation of such prophets as Jesus and David, while Ibn Sīrīn (d.110/728) condemned it as contrary to the tradition of the Prophet "who clothed himself in cotton"! Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 35.

He also learned from the Psalter, and he recited verses from it every day.³¹

[1205D] One day three years later he [the former Sarracen] said to the bishop: "Forgive me, Master, what am I supposed to do in order to see Christ?" And the bishop said: "Pray with the right faith and one of these days you will see Christ, according to your wish."³² But the former Sarracen said again: "Master, give me your consent to go to the priest who offered me instruction when I saw the awesome vision in the church of the most glorious martyr George."³³ The bishop said: "Go, in peace."

[1208A] Thus, he went to the priest, prostrated himself in front of him, embraced him and said to him: "Do you know, Father, who I am?" And the priest: "How can I recognize a man whom I have never seen before?" But, again, the former Sarracen said: "Am I not the nephew of the Emir, who brought the camels inside the church and they all died, and who during the Divine Liturgy saw that terrifying vision?" When the priest looked at him he was amazed and praised God seeing that the former Arab wolf had become a most calm sheep of Christ. He embraced him with passion and invited him to his cell to eat bread.

³¹See below, footnote 37-39.

³²The definite answer of the abbot and its emphasis on *prayer* betrays, perhaps, a direct influence on him of John Klimakos, a mystic of the Christian East. John (+ ca. 649) is the well-known abbot of the Monastery of Sinai and the author of the spiritual writing *The Ladder* (in Greek Κλίμαξ,) after which he was surnamed. The text of *The Ladder of Paradise*, in PG 88.631-1210; trans. Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell, as *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (New York, 1982). John of the Ladder is a major "witness of monastic spirituality based upon the invocation of the 'name of Jesus.'" John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology, Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York, 1979), p. 70. Most likely the "prayer of the heart," as the prayer of Jesus is otherwise called, was already practiced in Sinai prior to John of the Ladder. The invocation of the name of Jesus or "Jesus prayer" ("Lord Jesus Christ, son of God, have mercy on me the sinner") is a kind of *dhikr*, aiming at concentrating the mind, collecting it from wandering around and bringing about an experience of and a union with the divine presence. As taught by John of the Ladder, the Jesus prayer was not meant to be an exercise of the mind alone, but one of the whole human being remembering and participating in the experience of the transfigured Christ.

³³Does the request reflect, perhaps, a dissatisfaction of a novice monk with the contemplative hesychastic practices at Sinai and his search for a more immediate and direct spiritual experience?

And the former Sarracen said: "Forgive me, Master and Father, but I want and have a desire to see Christ. How can I do that?" [1208B] And the priest said: "If you wish to see Christ go to your nephew³⁴ and preach Christ to him. Curse and anathematize the faith of the Sarracens and their false prophet Muhammad and preach correctly the true faith of the Christians without fear, and thus you will see Christ."³⁵

[1208C] The former Sarracen left in earnest. By night he was knocking at the door of the Sarracen forcefully. The guards at the gate of the house of the Emir asked: "Who is yelling and knocking at the door?" And he answered: "I am the nephew of the Emir who left some time ago and was lost. Now I want to see my nephew³⁶ and tell him something." The guards of the gate conveyed this to the Sarracen immediately: "Master, it is your nephew who left some time ago and was lost." The Emir, heaving a sigh, said: "Where is he?" They said: "At the gate of the palace." He then ordered his servants to go and meet him with lights and candles. They all did as the king, Emir, commanded and they took the monk, the former Sarracen by the hand and presented him to the Emir, his nephew.

When the Emir saw him, he was very glad. He embraced him with tears in his eyes and said to him: "What is this? Where were [1208D] you living all this time? Aren't you my nephew?" And the monk said: "Don't you recognize me, your nephew? Now, as you see, by the grace of God the Most High I have become a Christian and a monk. I have been living in desert places so that I may inherit

³⁴The priest continues treating the Sarracen as the uncle, instead of the nephew of the Emir! See above n. 27 and below n. 36.

³⁵In reality the priest is inviting the convert to become a martyr! Monasticism, as a way of "dying" for the world and offering a witness to the world, and martyrdom, have been viewed by the early Christian East as two sides of the same coin—that of witness (in Greek *μαρτυρία*) and of imitation of Christ. Earliest ascetics saw monasticism as an alternative to martyrdom where martyrdom, resulting from persecution by the State, was not possible. Thus, while ascetics sought to experience a union with Christ in the flesh, martyrs sought to achieve a union with Christ beyond and in spite of the flesh.

³⁶From this evidence it becomes evident that either there is a confusion in the terms, or an uncle and a nephew are both called in relationship to each other "nephew." The word "uncle" occurs nowhere in the text; see above notes 27 and 34.

the Kingdom of Heaven. I hope in the unspeakable compassion of the All-sovereign God to inherit his kingdom. Why are you hesitating yourself, too, Emir? Receive the holy baptism of the Orthodox Christians in order to inherit eternal life, as I hope to do."

The Emir laughed, scratched his head and said: "What are you chattering about, you miserable one; what are you chattering? What has happened to you? Alas, you pitiful one! How did you abandon [1209A] your life and the sceptres of reign and roam around as a beggar, dressed in these filthy clothes made of hair?"

The monk responded to him: "By the grace of God. As far as all the things I used to have when I was a Sarracen, these were [material] property and were of the devil. But these things that you see me wearing are a glory and pride, and an engagement with the future and eternal life. I anathematize the religion of the Saracens and their false prophet."

Then the Emir said: "Take him out, for he does not know what he is chattering about." They took him away and put him in a place in the palace where they gave him food and drink. And he spent three days there, but he took neither food nor drink. He was praying [1209B] to God earnestly and with faith. Going down to his knees he said: "O Lord, I have hoped in thee; let me never be ashamed,³⁷ neither let mine enemies laugh at me to scorn."³⁸ And again: "Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy steadfast love; according to thy abundant mercy blot out my transgressions."³⁹ And again: "Enlighten my eyes, Lord God, that I may not fall asleep into death; that my enemy may never say 'I have overpowered him'. 'Strengthen my heart, O Lord,' so that I may be able to fight the visible deceiver, the Sarracen; so that the evil devil may not stamp on me and make me fear death, for your holy name." He then made the sign of the cross and said: "The Lord is my enlightenment and [1209C] my savior. Whom shall I fear? The Lord is the protector of my life. From whom will I hesitate?" And again he cried out to the Emir: "Receive holy baptism in order to gain the immeasurable kingdom of God."

Again the Emir gave orders for him to be brought in front of him. He had prepared for him clothes exceedingly beautiful. And

³⁷Ps. 30 (31) 1; 70 (71).1

³⁸Ps. 24 (25) 2.

³⁹Ps. 50 (51) 1.

the Emir spoke: "Enjoy, you pitiful one, enjoy and rejoice for being a king. Do not disdain your life and your youth which is so beautiful, walking instead mindlessly like a beggar and a penniless one. Alas you pitiful one. What do you think?"

The monk laughed and replied to the Emir: "Do not weep at what I have in mind. I am thinking of how to be able to fulfil the [1209D] work of my Christ and that of the Father priest who has sent me, and has been my teacher. As far as the clothes you have prepared for me, sell them and give the money to the poor. You, too, should abandon the temporary sceptres of the reign, so that you may receive sceptres of an eternal life. Do not rest your hope on things of the present but on things which are of the future, and do not believe in the pseudo-prophet Muhammad, the impure, the detestable one, the son of hell. Believe, rather, in Jesus Christ of Nazareth, the crucified one. Believe that the one Godhead is a consubstantial Trinity; Father, Son and Holy Spirit, a Trinity of the same essence, and undivided."

The Emir laughed again and said to the officials who had [1212A] gathered in the palace: "This man is mindless. What shall we do with him? Take him out and expel him." Those, however, sitting by the king said: "He meant to desecrate and corrupt the religion of the Sarracens. Do you not hear how he curses and anathematizes our great prophet?"

The monk and former Sarracen cried out loudly: "I feel sorry for you Emir because you, unfortunate one, do not want to be saved. Believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, the crucified one, and anathematize the religion of the Sarracens and their false prophet, as I did."

And the Sarracen Emir said: "Take him out as I am ordering [1212B] you. He is mindless and does not know what he is talking about."

Those sitting by with him said: "Well, you heard that he anathematized the religion of the Sarracens and that he is blaspheming against the great prophet, and you say, 'He does not know what he is talking about?' If you do not have him killed we will also go and become Christians."

And the Emir said: "I cannot have him killed because he is my nephew and I feel sorry for him. But you take him and do as you please."

And they got hold of the monk with great anger, they dragged [1212C] him out of the palace and submitted him to many tortures

to try to make him return to the previous religion of the Sarracens. But he did not. Instead he was teaching everybody in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth to believe and be saved.

The Sarracens dragged him out of the city, and there they stoned him to death⁴⁰ this most pious monk, whose name was Pachomios.

On that night a star came down from heaven and rested on top of the most pious martyr, and everybody was able to see it for forty days;⁴¹ and many of them became believers.

With the prayers of the most blessed martyr, of the all-pure [1212D] Mother of God Mary, who is ever-virgin, and of all the saints; for the remission of our sins. Amen.

Summary of Remarks

The story is attractive, imaginative and with a characteristic Oriental plot. It is motivated by monastic ideals, and a desire to witness to one's faith boldly, making converts to the Christian faith, becoming a martyr for one's faith and being united with Christ as imminently as possible. If the text does not prove the historicity of the episode, it does ascertain the historical reality of its time. Thus, the story allows us to make the following observations:

1. The whole incident rides on the miraculous and mystical; elements which lie at the heart of monastic spirituality. Preoccupied by these ideals, the author does not seem particularly concerned about

⁴⁰Denouncing Islam (*ridda*, apostasy) has traditionally been met in Islam by the death penalty. The practice goes back to Abū Bakr the first caliph (632-634) who brought the tribes, which apostacized after the death of Muhammad, by force back to the central authority of Medina. See also Fazlur Rahman, "The Law of Rebellion in Islam," in *Islam in the Modern World* (1983 Paine Lectures in Religion, the University of Missouri-Columbia, 1983), pp. 1-10, at 1-2. Most neomartyrs of the Orthodox Church were actually converts to Christianity from Islam, or crypto-Christians. On the neomartyrs, see R. M. Dawkins, "The crypto-Christians of Turkey," *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 247-75; N. Russell, "Neomartyrs of the Greek Calendar," *Sobornost* 5 (1983) 36-62; Demetrios J. Constantelos, "The Neomartyrs as Evidence for Methods and Motives Leading to Conversion and Martyrdom in the Ottoman Empire," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 23 (1978) 216-31.

⁴¹Since the word "star" and "martyr" in Greek are of masculine gender, it is not clear from the text whether "everyone was able to see him" (the martyr), or "it" (the star).

certain inconsistencies which his story contains. For example, while the priest is once depicted reserved, even afraid, of the Emir, not daring to even baptize the Saracen, later the same priest urges the convert to preach directly to the Emir, and curse and anathematize Muḥammad in front of him! Also, while the author portrays the priest as being modest, humble and convincing in front of the Saracen prince, he portrays the convert monk as arrogant and combative. Finally, the Emir himself appears as being good-hearted and compassionate, while the monk (nephew) appears as intransigent and confrontational.

2. The story is a good example of a meaningful interfaith "dialogue" in words and action, but a bad example of martyrdom! The earliest Church did not reward cases of martyrdoms which resulted from open and unwarranted provocations. This story—if it reflects a historical reality—tends to suggest that later Christendom condoned and perhaps encouraged such martyrdoms; a sign of a Church growing tired of, and intolerant towards, Islam.

The vision itself, which should be taken as the focal point of the sermon, signifies the importance of worship in general, and of the liturgy in particular, as a means of an interfaith encounter in experience and action, rather than in words by themselves. Verbal encounters alone can, as in this particular story, easily deteriorate into polemics.

3. The central and surprising figure in the story is the Saracen prince. He is able to see with his eyes what a Christian believes in his heart, but is unable to see. The Saracen appears to be a mystic by disposition, one of those who flees the secularism and the luxuries of the Umayyad court at Damascus. His example seems to represent the trend of the earliest Muslim ascetics; a trend which gave rise to Sufism. Thus, the story fits well with the extravagant Umayyad administration and the emergence of Islamic asceticism.

The prince converts to Christianity easily. He goes to Sinai without hesitation, where he becomes a disciplined and accomplished monk. He demonstrates a particular passion for mystical, hesychastic experiences. He wants to "see Christ," immediately. This is what he felt was missing from Sinai. He was not even reluctant to die in order to be able to see Christ! The early mystics of Islam also had set for themselves a similar goal: transmutation in God even by the extinction (*fanā'*) of their own self or individuality; an insult to the orthodox Islamic doctrine and sensibility. This clash between orthodox Islam and mysticism reached its culmination in al-Junayd (d. 910) and especially in the case of his celebrated contemporary al-Ḥallāj. The

latter was executed on the cross (d. 922) for claiming “*ana ’l-ḥaqq*” (“I am the truth”) after having achieved a mystical union with God.

4. All external and internal indications point to a text which reflects life in the eighth century, rather than in late medieval times. Not all evidences are of the same value but, collectively, they present a rather convincing case:

a) The name of the author is clearly stated as Gregory Dekapolites, a figure well-identified (780/790-842) whose life has been narrated by a contemporary and well-known biographer Ignatios (780-?).

b) The caliph is called *Amīr al-mu’minīn* an ancient title introduced by ‘Umar, the second caliph (634-644), and preserved by the Umayyads and the ‘Abbasid caliphs. Furthermore the text calls this emir *Amīr al-mu’minīn* “of Syria.” This designation suggests an Umayyad caliph governing from Damascus.

c) With regard to the relations between Muslims and Christians, the text seems to imply the terms of the “Ordinance of ‘Umar.” The Christian priest refrains from baptizing the Saracen because such an act could have resulted in death for him and in destruction of the church. The Church of Saint George is in the hands of Christians for purposes of worship, although the Muslim prince easily takes the liberty of invading and occupying it; an allusion to a hardening position of later Caliphs compared to the earliest Umayyads. The text depicts an atmosphere of co-existence between the two religious communities, with the Christians being the subordinate and protected community (*dhimmīs*). The Saracen prince is put to death, not for being a Christian but for having apostacized from Islam and for blaspheming Muḥammad. There is no indication, however, that either the bishop who baptized him or the priest who instructed him were punished for their actions.

5. The text is, of course, an hagiological sermon. Its purpose is to praise the virtues, the faith and the self-renunciation of the martyr. However, the central event of the story and the catalyst to the process of the hero’s conversion and his ultimate martyrdom is a vision! This vision obviously has a eucharistic meaning. But considered in this particular historical context, the scope of the sermon and the meaning of the vision go beyond that. In the context of the Iconoclastic controversy the iconoclasts maintained that the only icon of Christ that the Church knows is the Eucharist, rather than painted icons made by the hands of men. The one who articulated this thesis was none other than the theologically-inclined iconoclast Emperor

Constantine V the Kopronymos (741-775) who made this thesis the subject of one of his pointed and provocative theological "Inquiries" (*Peūseis*). These "Inquiries" became the backbone of the theology adopted by the Iconoclastic Council of Constantinople (754).⁴² For the iconophiles, however, the perception of the Eucharist as the "icon" of Christ, or Christ's own body "by participation and convention," is tantamount to blasphemy. For the iconophiles the Eucharist is an act established by Christ himself who offered the bread as "his [my] body", not as an icon of his body, and the cup as "his [my] blood" not as an icon of his blood. The Seventh Ecumenical Synod (Nicaea, 787), which refuted the iconoclastic Definition of the Council of 754, and on this particular eucharistic argument of the iconoclasts, states the following: "Thus, it has been clearly demonstrated that nowhere did either the Lord, or the Apostles, or the Fathers call the bloodless sacrifice offered through the priest "an icon," but rather they called it "this very body" and "this very blood."⁴³ Is it not the story of the sermon, a narrative depicting precisely the wording and the spirit of this Orthodox (and iconophile) eucharistic theology? Knowing Gregory Dekapolites as a theologically ardent iconophile monk who left the contemplative and ascetic life in order to fight against iconoclasm and support the iconophiles, one has little difficulty in accepting this story as a sermon on the iconophile eucharistic theology. Perhaps the *Sermon* as a whole is iconophile apologetics: the fact that even a Muslim, guided by the providence of God, is able to see the stark ontological reality of the Eucharist, represents a judgment against the *Christian iconoclasts*, and it exposes their effort at diluting the sacrament into a mere "image," or icon, of Christ in the place of a real sacrifice!

6. If there is no compelling reason to question the authorship of the text as being indeed "a historical sermon of Gregory Dekapolites,"

⁴²On the *Peūseis* of Emperor Constantine, and on the eucharistic theology in the context of iconoclasm, see Stephen Gero, "Notes on Byzantine Iconoclasm in the Eighth Century," *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 23-42, and his "The Eucharistic Doctrine of the Byzantine Iconoclasts and its Sources," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 68 (1975) 4-22.

⁴³G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* (Florence, 1867), 13, 265B. The texts of the iconoclastic Definition of 754, its Refutation and the iconophile Definition of 787 can be found in Daniel J. Sahas, *Icon and Logos. Sources in the Eighth-century Iconoclasm* (Toronto, 1986).

who is, then, this Emir-al-Muminin of Syria? The text offers us little evidence with which to determine the possible historical figures implicated in the sermon. Of various possible caliphs two seem to be the more probable ones, 'Umar II (717-720), and Hishām (724-743). 'Umar, (the fifth caliph), was the son of 'Abd al-Azīz who served as governor of al-Hulwān in Egypt in 61 or 63 A.H. 'Umar himself was born in Egypt.⁴⁴ As Sūyūfī describes 'Umar II as a man of "justice, removing grievances and establishing good laws".⁴⁵ The people addressed him as "Amīr al-Mu'minīn," and 'Umar himself assumed this title. The relationship of 'Umar to Egypt, his title, as well as the above stated traits of his personality are characteristics congenial to the information provided by the text.

Another possible case in Hishām (724-743). Theophanes, the Chronographer, himself an iconophile like Gregory, who died in exile as a confessor for his faith, reports that after the death of Yazīd (Yazīd II 720-724) Hishām, the latter's brother, became emir "and he started building in every country and city palaces, making plantations and gardens, and extracting water."⁴⁶ This piece of information corroborates the information regarding the building of a castle in Kurūm.

Incidents of desecration of churches were attributed to iconoclasts, as well as to Muslim officials whom the iconophile writers considered as forerunners and instigators of the Christian iconoclasm.⁴⁷ The incident that Theophanes mentions and the dates of Hishām's reign coincide with the violent iconoclastic actions of the Byzantine Emperor Leo III "the Isaurian" (717-741). The sermon of Gregory Dekapolites, therefore, might also be a product of the same turbulent period.

The questions of locality of the village or town of Kurūm,⁴⁸ the castle in this town, the identity of the *strategos* and especially the name of the Muslim caliph are still open questions. Less obscure questions, however, seem to be the period and the context of the text: the writing presupposes an iconoclastic climate and an iconophile

⁴⁴On 'Umar, see Jalalu'ddin As Sūyūfī, *History of the Caliphs*, trans. H. S. Jargett (Amsterdam, 1970) pp. 233-49.

⁴⁵Ibid. p. 235.

⁴⁶*Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 1,403.24-27.

⁴⁷On the bibliography referring to Islam and Byzantine iconoclasm see Sahas, *John of Damascus*, pp. 10-13; *Icon and Logos*, pp. 18-21.

⁴⁸Neither this name, nor its Greek translation, Ampelos, appear in Theophanes.

author; it reflects early Muslim-Christian relations; it betrays the growing anti-Christian policies of the later Umayyads, and it points to the rising Muslim discontent with a secularized caliphate.

However, beyond the historical and theological information and implications of the text, the text in itself and its content seem to contain a moral: "dialogue" in the context, or through the means, of worship, existential religious experience and mysticism—that is, meeting of hearts within the context of a mutual encounter with the divine—does bear fruit. Irrespective even of the question of whether the text is authentic or not, the fact remains that such a text *has found* a place in the Byzantine anti-Islamic literature! Among so many other pieces of anti-Islamic literature, such as refutations, formulas of abjuration, decrees, heresiological writings, responses, dialogues and condemnations, here is a short writing which is a "story"; something less encephalic and more experiential and miraculous. It is this fact which compels us to notice it as a suggestion of another kind of Muslim-Christian encounters; at least, as a possibility.

This text, as a piece of spiritual literature of Christianity, points to a significant trait in the attitude of the Christian East towards Islam, and, by extension, towards other non-Christian religious traditions: that *it is possible* for an "infidel" to see things that a faithful has been accustomed to believe but unable to experience; and that these things are not simply "things" but the very essence, the core and the mystery of Christianity. Once such a possibility has been acknowledged, a major breakthrough has been accomplished. Then an interfaith encounter can be lifted up to a level of relationship higher than merely polemics.

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